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Poetry.

ON THE CLOSE OF THE YEAR.

ANOTHER year! another year!
The unceasing rush of time sweeps on;
Whelmed in its surges, disappear
Man's joys and hopes, for ever gone.

Oh no! forbear that idle tale;
The hour demands another strain;
Demands high thoughts that cannot quail,
And strength to conquer and obtain.

'T is midnight—from the dark blue sky,
The stars which now look down on earth,
Have seen ten thousand centuries fly,
And give to countless changes birth.

And when the pyramids shall fall,
And mouldering mix as dust in air,
The dwellers on this altered ball,
May still behold them glorious there.

Shine on! shine on!—with you I tread
The march of ages, Orbs of Light!
A last eclipse may o'er you spread;
To me, to me, there comes no night.

Oh! what concerns it him, whose way
Lies upward to the immortal dead,
That a few hairs are turning grey,
Or one more year of life has fled.

Swift years! but teach me how to bear,
To feel, and act, with strength and skill;
To reason wisely, nobly dare,
And speed your courses as ye will.

When life's meridian toils are done,
How calm, how rich, the twilight glow!
The morning twilight of a sun,
That shines not here—on things below.

But sorrow, sickness, death—the pain
To leave, or lose, wife, children, friends
What then? Shall we not meet again,
Where parting comes not, sorrow ends?

The fondness of a parent's care,
The changeless trust that woman gives,
The smile of childhood—it is *there*,
That all we love in them, still lives.

Press onward through each varying hour;
Let no weak fears thy course delay;
Immortal being! feel thy power;
Pursue thy bright and endless way.

THE VOICES OF THE DEAD.

Oh! there are moments when the cares of life
Press on the wearied spirit; when the heart
Is fainting in the conflict, and the crown,
The bright, immortal crown for which we strive,
Shines dimly through the gathering mists of earth.
Then, Voices of the Dead! sweet, solemn Voices!
How have I heard ye, in my inmost soul!
Voices of those, who while they walked on earth,
Were linked unto my spirit, by the ties
Of pure affection—love more strong than death!—
Ye cry, 'Frail child of earth! tried, tempted one!

Shrink not! despond not! strive as we have striven
 In the stern conflict—yet a little while,
 And thou shalt be as we are—thou shalt know
 How far the recompense transcends the toil.'

Sweet sister! thou wert parted from my side,
 Ere yet one shade had dimmed thy loveliness—
 While still the holy light of innocence
 Was radiant round thee—thou hast past away,
 In purity unsullied, to his bosom,
 Who in his love, said, 'Suffer little children
 To come unto me, and forbid them not.'
 Mine only sister! thou art calling me—
 By all a sister's love, by every hope
 Which withered at thy tomb to bloom in heaven—
 To that bright home, where all the severed links
 Of the dear household band again shall join,
 Nor through eternity the silver chain
 Of purity, and love, and peace, be broken.

Friend of my youth! how lately in thy beauty
 And gladness, thou wert with me! Life's young flowers
 Were budding round us;—now, my lips have pressed
 Their last, sad kiss upon thy pale, calm brow,
 And the delight of many eyes is hid
 In the dark house of death. My friend! my friend!—
 'Tis thy sweet voice is pleading—shall the hope,
 Which tinged, as with a ray of heavenly light,
 The clouds which gathered round the parting hour—
 The blessed hope of meeting thee again,
 Where death is not, be lightly cast away?

My mother! O my mother! thoughts of thee
 Come o'er my spirit, like the dews of heaven
 Upon the fainting flowers. Best beloved
 Of all the dear departed! to thy child
 Thine image rises, in thy mournful sweetness,
 And touching beauty, fading from the earth.
 I hear thy voice as when I knelt before thee,
 And thou didst lay thy hand upon my head,
 And raise thy tearful eyes to heaven in prayer
 To Him, who though the mother leave her child,
 Will not forsake the orphan. Thy full soul
 Was poured in supplication, dying saint!
 Wert thou not heard? surely thou wert! by Him,
 Who loving thee, hath called thee to himself!
 Surely thou wert!—even now that voice of prayer
 Is floating round me, breathing hope and peace.

Thy God has been my God—thy trust, my trust—
 His goodness faileth not—Oh! may he grant,
 That yet again the mother with her child
 May bow to worship Him, the merciful,
 In that bright temple where no tone of sorrow
 Is mingling in the rapturous burst of praise!

A.

Review.

ART. XV.—1. *Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England;—Faithfully pointing out the Things of a Bad and Dangerous Tendency in the Late and Present Religious Appearances in the Land, &c.* By CHARLES CHAUNCY, D. D. Boston, 1743.

2. *The Christian History, containing Accounts of the Revival and Propagation of Religion in Great Britain and America. For the years 1743 and 1744.* [Edited by THOMAS PRINCE, JUN. A. B.] 2 vols. Boston.

THOUGH we intend hereafter to go into a full discussion of the principles on which revivals of religion are to be explained, we do not think that the prevailing errors on this subject are so likely to be corrected by general reasonings, however conclusive to an unprejudiced mind, as by a plain and unvarnished statement of facts. It is easy to deny general reasonings, or cast suspicion on them; or if a man's understanding is convinced by them, it is easy to call it his *carnal* understanding, and then conviction itself will go for nothing; but it is not quite so easy to dispose of stubborn facts, considered as illustrating the origin and tendency of the excitements in question. Besides, most of the disputable points respecting revivals, are matters of experiment, and to be decided by fair experiment; but as far as the experiment has been tried, the public have been abused to such a degree by hearing one side only, that, in the present state of their information in regard to facts, it is hardly possible for them to make up a correct opinion on the subject. There is also a manifest advantage in going back to a revival which took place many years

ago, as it may be presumed that we can speak of the transactions which attended it with less prejudice on this account ; and as it enables us to contemplate in one view its immediate and its remote consequences, the life and promise of its opening scenes, and the final issue, so that we are prepared to judge, whether, on the whole, the great interests of religion were advanced, or retarded.

The history of New England, beginning with Mrs Hutchinson, contains many accounts of local, and sometimes considerably extensive excitements on the subject of religion, resembling in many respects the revivals of the present day ; but being generally discountenanced by the more sober and judicious part of the community, they soon died away. Our limits in this review will confine us to some notice of the great revival under Whitefield, commonly known by the name of the NEW LIGHTS, and the awakenings in different places by which it was immediately preceded and introduced.

One of the most remarkable of these took place in New Milford, in Connecticut, and, like most similar excitements, promised well in the beginning, but ended in a painful and mortifying disappointment of the real friends of religion. The facts are given in a letter from the clergyman of the place, published by Dr Chauncy.

‘ Some time in the year 1726 there appeared a flaming zeal for religion, among a number of our people ; the occasion of which, as was said, was the dying counsel of a loose young man to his companions. They set up private meetings, which they carried on by praying, reading good books, singing, &c. The meetings were chiefly of the younger sort of people ; of children about five or six years of age, and so upwards to about twenty one, or two ; and there were among them two or three of thirty years, or more, though they were mainly of the more younger sort. There seemed to appear so much of a spirit of real religion among them, that we were greatly encouraged with the hope, that true Christianity was revived among us ; and we were strengthened in this hope by their abundant zeal and warmth in religious things, which was as great as you may any where behold at this day. After a while, they multiplied their meetings to three or four in a week, and I myself frequently met with them, and some elder persons ; and were ready to rejoice with them in the seeming appearance of religion. The town was then but small, I suppose under the number of forty families ; and yet, there was such a

religious progress, that there was added to the church, fifty, or upwards, in about the space of seventeen or eighteen months.

‘About the space of a year after they set out, as I remember, things evidently appeared with another face. They first discovered a great degree of spiritual pride, which wonderfully grew and increased in them, and evidenced itself by its fruits; especially, a spirit of discerning and judging the state of others, so that there were scarce any that escaped their censure, either among the living or the dead, in their memory. Upon this they began to purge their meetings, to use their language, and disallow the unconverted, as they termed them, to meet with them; for they gave out, that there were false brethren and betrayers. And they shifted from place to place that they might have none but converts among them. By this time, we began to be much alarmed, elder persons withdrew from their meetings, and restrained their children; yet notwithstanding, there remained a wonderful itch in many to be with them, and sundry did follow them; and they allowed them so to do, in hope of proselyting them.’—*Chauncy*, pp. 203, 204.

Soon after this they opened a correspondence with other enthusiasts scattered throughout the country, began to speak slightly of some books of scripture, particularly of the Psalms of David, and took every opportunity to denounce the regular ministers, and the magistrates. To the ‘civil rulers they gave no better style than the BEAST,’ and thought them unfit ‘to set at the helm of government, being unconverted.’

‘However, this is remarkable, that as they began with spiritual pride, so this confounded them; for it was their contention about their officers that divided them. Part are returned to their own sheepfold, part gone over to the Church of England, and about six or seven still remain under the influence of the same spirit, and in the same errors, unless, as in the case of all error, there may be a variation in some things; though I must add, that even these six or seven seemed, of late years, to be more moderate and sociable, and there was a prospect of their returning back to us, before the appearance of the New Light; for now they seem to think, they are the stone cut out of the mountain, that shall fill the whole earth.’—*Ibid.* p. 206.

‘I must not omit observing to you, that as several of these persons have, at times, renounced their errors, and confessed the spirit of delusion they were under, so some of each of the three parties, i. e. of those who have returned to us, or gone over to the Church, or still retain their former spirit, do, to my knowledge, assert, that much of the spirit that is produced by the itinerants

and their preaching, is the same with theirs. And some of the standing Quakers particularly, for such are the small remnant of this sect remaining, will gladly hear some of these itinerant preachers; and say, they have the same spirit they have, but don't know it; for they themselves did not know at first, whither they were going.—*Ibid.* p. 208.

Meanwhile a strong dissatisfaction with the prevalent dulness in religion, began to show itself in several towns in Massachusetts; particularly in Northampton, under the energetic ministry of the justly celebrated Jonathan Edwards. Under his grandfather and immediate predecessor, Stoddard, there had been no less than five revivals, or 'harvests,' as he called them; but their effect on the morals of the place does not appear to have been perfectly satisfactory, if we may judge from the account which Edwards himself gives of the state in which the parish was left at his grandfather's death, in 1729.

'Just after my grandfather's death, it seemed to be a time of extraordinary dulness in religion. Licentiousness for some years greatly prevailed among the youth of the town; they were many of them very much addicted to night walking, and frequenting the tavern, and lewd practices, wherein some by their example exceedingly corrupted others. It was their manner very frequently to get together in conventions of both sexes, for mirth and jollity, which they called frolics; and they would often spend the greater part of the night with them, without any regard to order in the families they belonged to; and indeed family government did too much fail in the town. It was become very customary with many of our young people to be indecent in their carriage at meeting, which doubtless would not have prevailed to such a degree, had it not been that my grandfather, through his great age, though he retained his powers surprisingly to the last, was not so able to observe them.'—*Edwards' Works*, vol. 3. pp. 11, 12. Ed. 1808.

Towards the close of the year 1733, a sensible amendment and growing seriousness began to be manifest in Mr Edwards' flock, and,

'in the April following,—there happened a very sudden and awful death of a young man in the bloom of his youth, who, being violently seized with a pleurisy, and taken immediately very delirious, died in about two days; which, together with what was preached publicly on that occasion, much affected many young people. This was followed with another death of a young married woman, who had been considerably exercised in mind, about the salvation of her soul, before she was ill, and was in great dis-

tress, in the beginning of her illness, but seemed to have satisfying evidences of God's saving mercy to her, before her death; so that she died very full of comfort, in a most earnest and moving manner warning and counselling others. This seemed much to contribute to the solemnizing of the spirits of many young persons; and there began evidently to appear more of a religious concern on the people's minds.

'In the fall of the year, I proposed it to the young people, that they should agree among themselves to spend the evening after lectures, in social religion, and to that end to divide themselves into several companies to meet in various parts of the town; which was accordingly done, and those meetings have been since continued, and the example imitated by elder people. This was followed by the death of an elderly person, which was attended with many unusual circumstances, by which many were much moved and affected.

'About this time began the great noise, that was in this part of the country, about Arminianism, which seemed to appear with a very threatening aspect upon the interest of religion here. The friends of vital piety trembled for fear of the issue; but it seemed, contrary to their fear, strongly to be overruled for the promoting of religion. Many who looked on themselves as in a Christless condition, seemed to be awakened by it, with fear that God was about to withdraw from the land, and that we should be given up to heterodoxy, and corrupt principles, and that then their opportunity for obtaining salvation would be past; and many, who were brought a little to doubt about the truth of the doctrines they had hitherto been taught, seemed to have a kind of a trembling fear with their doubts, lest they should be led into by-paths, to their eternal undoing.'—*Ibid.* pp. 13, 14.

No man then living was so well qualified to take advantage of such a crisis as Mr Edwards; uniting, as he did, to great piety, a singular credulity in regard to facts which made him perfectly honest in his most extravagant assumptions, and an almost unequalled ingenuity in reasoning on these assumptions. Grant him his premises, and you are led on step by step to the conclusion; the mind struggles in vain, and is obliged to submit; and then comes the terrible application. To be sure, this application is often of a kind to confute the position from which he started, by reducing it to a practical absurdity; but the mind has been bewildered and crazed by the process, and cannot find its way back, and has lost, moreover, its faculty of discrimination. There are many passages in the published sermons of this distinguished theologian, which, to us, are simply revolting, and sometimes positively

disgusting ; but we can easily conceive of a mind gradually wrought up to a state, in which they would come upon it with an overwhelming power. Besides, Mr Edwards was as remarkable for his abilities in managing a revival, as in getting it up in the first instance. With a strong natural turn for metaphysical investigation, he had considered the operation of his system on the human mind, with great care ; and when the subjects of the excitement consulted him, as a spiritual adviser, he found it easy to gain the same sort of ascendancy over them, which a physician gains over his patients, by entering at once into all their secret feelings, and appearing to know more about their aches and pains than they do themselves. We suspect that no minister ever possessed so much influence over his people in time of a revival, and that none, on the whole, ever exerted it with more judgment and discretion, considering the objects he had in view. We are not surprised, therefore, to learn that the revival now under consideration, should have been attended in the beginning with uncommon success.

‘I am far from pretending to be able to determine how many have lately been the subjects of such mercy ; but if I may be allowed to declare any thing that appears to me probable in a thing of this nature, I hope that more than three hundred souls were savingly brought home to Christ in this town, in the space of half a year, (how many more I don’t guess) and about the same number of males as females ; which, by what I have heard Mr Stoddard say, was far from what has been usual in years past, for he observed that in his time, many more women were converted than men. Those of our young people that are on other accounts most likely and considerable, are mostly, as I hope, truly pious, and leading persons in the way of religion. Those that were formerly looser young persons, are generally, to all appearance, become true lovers of God and Christ, and spiritual in their dispositions. And I hope that by far the greater part of persons in this town, above sixteen years of age, are such as have the saving knowledge of Jesus Christ.’ * * * * *

‘It has heretofore been looked on as a strange thing, when any have seemed to have been savingly wrought upon and remarkably changed in their childhood ; but now, I suppose, near thirty were to appearance so wrought upon between ten and fourteen years of age, and two between nine and ten, and one of them about four years of age.’—*Ibid.* pp. 23, 24.

Mr Edwards appears to have been delighted with the effect which the revival had on the ‘doctrinal notions’ of his peo-

ple ; but its effect on their morals and piety is not represented as so considerable. We confess we were not a little startled at the concessions in the following paragraph, which, if we understand it rightly, admits that the new converts retained but for a short time, the practical advantages they supposed themselves to have gained.

‘I think that the main ground of the doubts and fears that persons, after their conversion, have been exercised with about their own state, has been that they have found so much corruption remaining in their hearts. At first their souls seem to be all alive, their hearts are fixed, and their affections flowing ; they seem to live quite above the world, and meet with but little difficulty in religious exercises ; and they are ready to think it will always be so. Though they are truly abased under a sense of their vileness by reason of former acts of sin, yet they are not then sufficiently sensible what corruption still remains in their hearts ; and therefore are surprised when they find that they begin to be in dull and dead frames, to be troubled with wandering thoughts in the time of public and private worship, and to be utterly unable to keep themselves from them ; also, when they find themselves unaffected at seasons in which, they think, there is the greatest occasion to be affected ; and when they feel worldly dispositions working in them, and it may be pride, and envy, and stirrings of revenge, or some ill spirit towards some person that has injured them, as well as other workings of indwelling sin ; their hearts are almost sunk with the disappointment, and they are ready presently to think that all this they have met with, is nothing, and that they are mere hypocrites.’—*Ibid.* p. 55.

Though looking with distrust on these awakenings, we are not insensible to their good effects, even when proceeding, as in the case now under consideration, on mistaken views of religion ; but we think that these good effects are counterbalanced, and often much more than counterbalanced, by accompanying evils. It is said of speculative errors, even the grossest and most shocking, that they are counteracted in practice, for the most part, by common sense, a regard for public opinion, and their obvious inconsistency with acknowledged obligations which can be, and will be, enforced. And this is true, when men’s minds are not excited in regard to these errors, and opportunity is given for cool reflection and prudence ; but let the whole community become heated and inflamed, and very little reliance can be placed on these securities. Of course, it is to be presumed that such men as Edwards, must wish from interested mo-

tives, if from no better, to prevent the revivals, which they have succeeded in getting up, from running into scandalous excesses; but let the passions of men become excited inordinately, and it is often as much beyond their power to do this, as to control the storms when they are wildest. Passion is power; and hence the extreme danger of exciting men's passions without at the same time enlightening and *liberalizing* their understandings. It is putting a deadly weapon into the hands of a maniac. Besides, it is while the whole community is in this excited state, that strange and unaccountable vagaries often seize on the best minds, and propagate themselves, like an epidemic, through large masses; the consequences of which are most disastrous, alike to the individuals who are the subjects of the delusion, and the world who look on, and come to the conclusion that religion is a phantasy. Mr Edwards' letter to Dr Coleman, from which we have taken our extracts, was written in 1736, and long before that time he had found occasion to deplore the justice of most of these reflexions. But on this subject we choose that he should speak for himself.

'In the latter part of May it began to be very sensible that the spirit of God was gradually withdrawing from us, and after this time Satan seemed to be more let loose, and raged in a dreadful manner. The first instance wherein it appeared, was a person's putting an end to his own life, by cutting his throat. He was a gentleman of more than common understanding, of strict morals, religious in his behaviour, and an useful, honorable person in the town; but was of a family that are exceeding prone to the disease of melancholy, and his mother was killed with it. He had, from the beginning of this extraordinary time, been exceedingly concerned about the state of his soul, and there were some things in his experience that appeared very hopefully; but he durst entertain no hope concerning his own good estate. Towards the latter part of his time, he grew much discouraged, and melancholy grew amain upon him, till he was wholly overpowered by it, and was, in great measure, past a capacity of receiving advice, or being reasoned with to any purpose. The devil took the advantage, and drove him into despairing thoughts. He was kept awake a-nights, meditating terror, so that he had scarce any sleep at all, for a long time together. And it was observed at last, that he was scarcely well capable of managing his ordinary business, and was judged delirious by the coroner's inquest. The news of this extraordinarily affected the minds of people here, and struck them, as it were, with astonishment. After this, multitudes in this and other towns seemed to have it strongly suggested to

them, and pressed upon them, to do as this person had done. And many that seemed to be under no melancholy, some pious persons, that had no special darkness nor doubts about the goodness of their state, nor were under any special trouble or concern of mind about any thing spiritual or temporal, yet had it urged upon them, as if somebody had spoken to them, *Cut your own throat, now is a good opportunity.* Now! Now! So that they were obliged to fight with all their might to resist it, and yet no reason suggested to them why they should do it.—*Ibid.* pp. 77, 78.

Our attention is now called away to other scenes, but we intend to return to the subject in the sequel, and notice the melancholy issue of Mr Edwards' labors at Northampton.

Whitefield had been in some of the southern provinces in 1738, and after a short visit to his native country had returned in the following year. He landed at Philadelphia in the autumn, and soon afterwards proceeded southward to Savannah, his former place of residence, and where he had established his Orphan House; preaching at the principal cities and villages on his way. In September, 1740, he was induced to visit New England, partly by the pressing invitations he had received from this quarter, and partly by the necessity he was under to collect additional funds for the support of his Orphan House; and sailed accordingly from Charleston, S. C. for Newport, in Rhode Island. If we may credit his Journal,* his arrival off the last mentioned place was signalized by a miracle.

'Almost all the morning the wind was contrary; but I found a very strong inclination to pray that we might arrive time enough to be present at public worship. Once I called the people, but something prevented their coming; at last, finding my impression increase upon me, I desired their attendance immediately. They came with a strong assurance we should be heard. We prayed the Lord that he might turn the wind that we might give him thanks in the great congregation, and also that he would send such to us as he would have us to converse with, and who might show us a lodging. Though the wind was ahead when we begun, yet when we had done praying and came out of the cabin, it was quite fair; with a gentle gale we sailed most pleasantly into the harbor, got into public worship before they had

* In reading Whitefield's Journal of his tour, it should be remembered, that it was not a private one, intended merely as a record of his first impressions, and to assist his memory; but was designed for immediate publication, and sent to the press as soon as the tour was finished, that it might have its effect on the public mind:

finished the psalms, and sat, as I thought, undiscovered. After service was over, a gentleman asked me whether my name was not Whitefield. I told him, Yes. He then desired me to go to his house, and he would take care to provide lodgings and necessities for me and my friends. I went silently, admiring God's goodness in answering my prayers so minutely.—*Whitefield's Journal at New England*, pp. 38, 39.

Here he stayed a few days, and received every possible mark of attention, and then continued his journey to Boston; where he was also received with great honor, not only by the clergy generally, but by the governor, secretary, and other principal men. It is to be observed, however, that though Whitefield was in orders in the Episcopal Church, all the three Episcopal clergymen in this town treated him with so much coolness in an interview he had with them, that he resolved not to give them the opportunity of denying him their pulpits, and, while he continued here, preached only with the Congregationalists. His labors, as a preacher, were immense, and could not have been sustained by him, if it had not been for the physical effects of living in a state of continued mental excitement, or if his efforts had been of a kind to require much preparation. Scarcely a day passed on which he did not preach in public at least once, and occasionally three times; and besides this, he almost always in the evening exhorted the crowd that collected in the house, or gathered round the doors of his lodgings. He is also careful to mention in his Journal the numbers drawn together by his eloquence, from which we learn that he often had an audience of six thousand persons in the churches, and when he preached on the Common, it was repeatedly in the presence of fifteen thousand, and, in one instance, of near thirty thousand. So eager were the multitude to hear him, that the churches where he was expected to preach, were thronged to overflowing, many hours before the services began; and this often led to serious accidents, one of which he mentions himself, with a comment on 'his own presence of mind that might have been spared; for we do not esteem this quality very highly, when it consists merely in the equanimity with which a person in his situation could bear other men's terrors and sufferings.

'In the afternoon I went to preach at Mr Checkley's meeting-house; but God was pleased to humble us by a very awful providence. For when the meetinghouse was filled with people,

though there was no real danger, on a sudden the people were all in an uproar, and so unaccountably surprised, that some threw themselves out of the windows, others threw themselves out of the galleries, and others trampled upon one another so that some were actually killed, and others dangerously wounded. I happened to come in the midst of the uproar, and saw two or three lying on the ground in a pitiable condition. God was pleased to give me presence of mind, so that I gave notice I would immediately preach on the Common.'—*Ibid.* p. 53.

Our readers will be pleased to know what impressions were made on Whitefield by this visit; and a few more extracts from his Journal will not only gratify them in this respect, but do as much as any thing to give an insight into his character and policy.

'Boston is a large populous place, very wealthy; has the form kept up very well; but has lost much of the power of religion. I have not heard of any remarkable stir in it for these many years. Ministers and people are obliged to confess, that the love of many is waxed cold. Both, for the generality, seem too much conformed to the world. There's much of the pride of life to be seen in their assemblies. Jewels, patches, and gay apparel are commonly worn by the female sex; little boys and girls I observed commonly dressed up in the pride of life; and the little infants that were brought to baptism, were wrapped in such fine things and so much pains taken to dress them, that one would think they were brought thither to be initiated into, rather than renounce, the pomps and vanities of this wicked world. There are nine meetinghouses of the Congregational persuasion, one Baptist, one French, one belonging to the Scotch-Irish; there are two monthly and one weekly lecture, and that, too, but poorly attended; several ministers complained to me of it, I mentioned it in my sermons, and I trust God will stir up the people more frequently to tread the courts of the Lord's house. One thing Boston is remarkable for, the external observation of the sabbath. Men in civil offices have a regard for religion. The governor encourages them, and the ministers and magistrates seem to be more united than in any other place where I have been. Both were exceeding civil to me during my stay. I never saw so little scoffing; never had so little opposition. But one might easily foresee much would hereafter arise, when I come to be more particular in my application to particular persons; for I fear, many, many rest in a head knowledge, are close Pharisees, and having only a name to live. It must needs be so when the power of godliness is dwindled away, and the form only of religion is become fashionable amongst a people.'—*Ibid.* 76, 77.

' *Wednesday, Sept. 24.* Went this morning to see and preach at Cambridge, the chief college for training up the sons of the prophets in all New England. It has one president, four tutors, upwards of one hundred students. It is scarce as big as one of our least colleges in Oxford; and as far as I could gather from some who well knew the state of it, not far superior to our universities in piety and true godliness. Tutors neglect to pray with, and examine the hearts of their pupils. Discipline is at too low an ebb. Bad books are become fashionable amongst them. Tillotson and Clark are read instead of Sheppard, Stoddard, and such like evangelical writers, and therefore I chose to preach from those words, "We are not as many who corrupt the word of God;" and in the conclusion of my sermon, I made a close application to tutors and students.'—*Ibid.* p. 55.

At another time in Boston:

'When I came into the pulpit, I saw a great number of ministers sitting around and before me, and when I came to those words, "Art thou a master of Israel, and knowest not these things?" the Lord enabled me to open my mouth boldly against unconverted ministers; to caution tutors to take care of their pupils; and also to advise ministers particularly to examine into the experiences of candidates for ordination. For I am verily persuaded the generality of preachers talk of an unknown, unfelt Christ. And the reason why congregations have been so dead, is because they have had dead men preaching to them. Oh! that the Lord may quicken and revive them, for his own name's sake. For how can dead men beget living children? It's true indeed, God may convert people by the Devil if he pleases, and so he may by unconverted ministers. But I believe he seldom makes use of either of them for this purpose. No, the Lord will choose vessels made meet by the operations of the blessed Spirit for his sacred use; and as for my own part, I would not lay hands on an unconverted man for ten thousand worlds. Unspeakable freedom God gave me while treating on this head.'—*Ibid.* 70, 71.

On leaving this section of the country he gives the following as the sum of his reflections and observations.

'But here I think it proper to set up my Ebenezer, and before I enter into the province of New York, to give God thanks for sending me into New England. I have now had an opportunity of seeing the greatest and most populous parts of it; and take all together, it certainly on many accounts exceeds all other provinces in America, and for the establishment of religion, perhaps all other parts of the world. Never, surely, was so large a spot of ground settled in such a manner, in so short a space as one hundred years. The towns through Connecticut, and eastward to-

wards York, in the province of the Massachusetts Bay, near the river side, are large and well peopled, and exceeding pleasant to travel through. Every five or ten miles you have a meeting-house, and I believe there's no such thing as a pluralist or non-resident minister in both provinces. Many, nay, perhaps most that preach, I fear, do not experimentally know Christ, yet I cannot see much worldly advantage to tempt them to take upon them the sacred function.'—'But I think the ministers preaching almost universally by notes, is a certain mark they have in a great measure lost the old spirit of preaching. For though all are not to be condemned that use notes, yet it is a sad symptom of the decay of vital religion, when reading sermons becomes fashionable, where extempore preaching did once almost universally prevail. When the spirit of prayer began to be lost, then forms of prayer were invented, and I believe the same observation will hold good as to preaching. As for the universities, I believe it may be said, 'Their light is now become darkness; darkness that may be felt,' and is complained of by the most godly ministers. I pray God those fountains may be purified, and send forth pure streams to water the city of our God. The Church of England is at a very low ebb, and as far as I can find, had people kept their primitive purity, it would scarce have got footing in New England. I have many evidences to prove that most of the churches have been first set up by immoral men, and such as would not submit to the discipline of their congregations, or were corrupt in the faith. But I will say no more about the poor Church of England. Most of her sons, whether ministers or people, I fear hate to be reformed.'—*Ibid.* pp. 94—96.

Nothing appears to have given Whitefield more pleasure than the attentions which he received from governor Belcher; and the Journal is full of notices of the several instances in which his Excellency invited him to dinner, or gave him a seat in his coach, or kissed him. We shall give, as an example, their parting interview.

'Wednesday, October 15. Perceived the governor to be more affectionate than ever. After morning prayer, he took me by myself, kissed me, wept, and exhorted me to go on stirring up the ministers. For, says he, reformation must begin at the house of God. As we were going to meeting, says he, Mr Whitefield, do not spare rulers any more than ministers; no, not the chief of them. I preached in the open air to some thousands; the word fell with weight indeed; it carried all before it. After sermon, the governor said to me, I pray God I may apply what has been said to my own heart. Pray, Mr Whitefield, that I may hunger and thirst after righteousness. Dinner being ended, with tears in his eyes he kissed and took his leave of me. Oh! that we may

meet in heaven! I have observed, that I had greater power than ordinary when the governor has been at public worship.'—*Ibid.* pp. 79, 80.

In reading the Journal one is surprised at the liberty which the writer takes, in publishing his opinion of the domestic circumstances of his friends; and not less so, at his manner of obtruding on the world his own private concerns, strangely mixed up with religion and prayer.

'The night was both dark and rainy; but He, with whom the darkness is no darkness, brought us in safety to Hampton, where I was pleased to see more plainness in Mr Cotton's house than I had seen in any minister's house since my arrival. His wife was as one that serveth. Oh! that all ministers' wives were so; for there is nothing gives me more offence than to see clergymen's wives dressed out in the pride of life; they bring a reproach upon religion; they generally live up to the utmost of their income, and being above working after their husbands' decease, they are of all women the most miserable. From such a wife, good Lord, of thy infinite mercy deliver my soul.'—*Ibid.* 62.

And again at Northampton:

'Felt wonderful satisfaction in being at the house of Mr Edwards. He is a son himself, and hath also a daughter of Abraham for his wife. A sweeter couple I have not yet seen. Their children were dressed not in silks and satins, but plain, as becomes the children of those who in all things ought to be examples of christian simplicity. She is a woman adorned with a meek and quiet spirit, and talked so feelingly and solidly of the things of God, and seemed to be such a helpmeet for her husband, that she caused me to renew those prayers, which for some months I have put up to God, that he would be pleased to send me a daughter of Abraham to be my wife. I find upon many accounts it is my duty to marry. Lord, I desire to have no choice of my own. Thou knowest my circumstances. Thou knowest I desire to marry only in and for thee. Thou didst choose a Rebecca for Isaac; choose one for me to be a helpmeet for me, in managing that great household committed to my charge. Lord, hear me; Lord, let my cry come unto thee.'—*Ibid.* p. 83.

It was while his mind was in this state that he wrote home to England a very characteristic letter, soliciting the hand of a young lady, who 'had often been impressed on his heart as the person appointed by God for him;' but stating, at the same time, 'I bless God, if I know any thing of my own heart, I am free from that foolish passion which the world

calls love.' This negotiation failed ; but he was afterwards wedded to a widow lady, whose attractions, by his own account, did not consist in riches or beauty, but in being 'a despised follower of Jesus.' Unhappily, however, Whitefield was no judge of character ; the union was not blessed, and her death, according to one of his friends, 'set his mind much at liberty.'

On the whole, the more we have studied Whitefield's character the less respect we feel for it, notwithstanding the wonderful effects of his preaching. His friends admit that we look in vain in his published remains, for indications of a higher order of intellect, or genuine eloquence ; and the truth is, he had neither. It was his manner and nothing else ; and much of the success of this is to be imputed to the heavy and jejune style of preaching which then prevailed, almost universally, and made any thing, in comparison, interesting and exciting. We ought also to consider, in this connexion, the propensity of the multitude to exaggerate the powers of a popular orator, by ascribing to them much that might be referred more properly to the state of mind in which he is heard, and to the influence which a crowded audience have on one another by sympathy, when assembled under such circumstances. Vanity, excessive vanity, appears to have been Whitefield's master passion ; and he had as much virtue and piety as was compatible with this, and no more. We do not mean that he really had no religion, when we say he was vain of it, any more than we should mean that a man had no learning, if we said he was vain of it. At the same time, it must be confessed that vanity is a trait of character not likely to consist with very high religious attainments. It is said of Napoleon that he loved France, merely because France was identified with his own glory ; and yet that he really loved France. We suspect that much of Whitefield's zeal for religion, is to be explained in the same way, and yet we believe that his zeal was sincere ; for though there is a great deal of delusion about such persons, they commonly begin by deluding themselves.

And let it not be said, that in these observations we have been defaming the dead. On the contrary, they enable us to account for defects and vices, which, on any other theory of Whitefield's character, we should find it necessary to refer

to worse motives. It was vanity, and nothing worse, which made him speak, at one time with so much presumption of his spiritual communications, and at another, in such exaggerated language of his vileness; for men may be vain of their humility, as well as of any other grace. It was vanity, and nothing worse, which induced him to be continually parading *himself* as the principal figure, and which prepared him to receive and enjoy the fulsome, and sometimes almost impious, adulation lavished on him by his admirers, and, if occasion required, to use not a little of this adulation himself, in his intercourse with the great, whom he could persuade to come into his measures. In fine, it was vanity, and nothing worse, which led him to denounce his elders and betters in the ministry, as unconverted men, and to endeavour to destroy their influence, and even to entertain, for a time, the project of displacing them, that he might make room for an importation of his own creatures from England.* Wesley was remarkable rather for his ambition, and took more care, therefore, to establish and perpetuate his ascendancy, while the vanity of Whitefield was satisfied, for the most part, in seeing the impression he could make by a single effort; a success to which this very vanity also contributed, by the selfconfidence it inspired.

However this may be, it is certain that his preaching produced a sensation, which was felt from one end of the continent to the other.

‘He was strangely flocked after by all sorts of persons, and much admired by the vulgar, both great and small. The ministers had him in veneration, at least in appearance, as much as the people; encouraged his preaching, attended it themselves every day in the week, and mostly twice a day. The grand subject of conversation was Mr Whitefield, and the whole business of the town, to run from place to place to hear him preach. And, as he preached under such uncommon advantages, being high in the

* See several Letters which passed between Mr Clap, the Rector of Yale College, and Mr Edwards, and were published at the time. They relate to a private conversation which these gentlemen had with one another, and which Clap divulged. Edwards wrote for the purpose of contradicting it, and yet was obliged to confess, ‘It’s possible I might say to you, that I believed Mr Whitefield did aim at people’s forsaking unconverted ministers, and to endeavour that there should be a supply of converted ministers, as far as in him lay; or something to that purpose. In the same discourse it’s possible I might mention what Mr Whitefield told me of his design of bringing over a number of young men from England, to be ordained by the Tennents in the Jerseys.’

opinion of the people, and having the body of the ministers hanging on his lips, he soon insinuated himself still further into the affections of multitudes, in so much that it became dangerous to mention his name, without saying something in commendation of him.

'His reception, as he passed through this and the neighbouring governments of Connecticut and New York, till he came to Philadelphia, was after much the same manner; save only, that he met with no admirers among the clergy, unless here and there one, any where but in Boston; and, whether the ministers here in general, really thought better of him than they did elsewhere, I will not be too positive to affirm. 'Tis possible, they might act as though they had a great veneration for him and so as to lead people into such an apprehension, from cowardice, affectation of popularity, or a rigid attachment to some sentiments in divinity they might imagine there was now an advantage to establish and propagate; and I would not undertake to prove, that they might none of them be under an undue influence from some or other of these motives.'*

The ministers of Boston seem to have been alarmed at the inroads which Arminianism and Arianism had already begun to make in this vicinity, to withstand the further progress of which but two courses presented themselves. One was, to encourage inquiry, and meet the supposed errors in discussion and by fair argument; but they were wary men, and experience had taught them that Calvinism seldom throve by such means. They were determined, therefore, to put their doctrines under the protection of a popular enthusiasm; not an enthusiasm naturally inspired by the circumstances or the subject, but an enthusiasm gotten up by artificial means, and so directed and controlled, by its contrivers and managers, that it might answer their purposes, without bringing itself into discredit by its excess, or turning back its fires on those who kindled them. This expedient, considering the emergency, was wisely chosen; for while it served, for the time at least, to revive a zeal for religion and greater seriousness, it also had the effect to recommend their peculiar doctrines, with which they took care that this increased zeal and seriousness

* A Letter from a Gentleman in Boston to Mr George Wishart, one of the Ministers of Edinburgh, concerning the State of Religion in New England. Edinburgh. 1742, pp. 6, 7. This is the testimony of a cotemporary and eye-witness, whose authority is on many accounts entitled to great weight. The Edinburgh minister did not feel at liberty to give the name of the writer, but says that he knows him to be distinguished for his understanding and integrity, a religious man, and a Calvinist.

should be associated in the minds of the people. To be sure no such connexion really existed, for while Whitefield was producing these effects by preaching Calvinism, Wesley was producing the same or still greater effects, by preaching Anticalvinism. They knew, however, that the less enlightened part of the community were ignorant of this, and would associate the good effects of the excitement with the high Calvinism of its principal movers; and they would be able to point to the 'glorious work' as being at the same time the fruit of Calvinism, and a divine attestation to its truth. A new argument would not really be adduced in support of their system, nor any persons, properly speaking, be convinced of it, or led to examine it; but many would be induced to assume it as true without examining it. We may presume that in all this the ministers of Boston were actuated by honest intentions; and if Calvinists in other places did not imitate the policy, it may have been because they did not feel their doctrines to be losing their hold on the public mind; or because they dreaded the evils of making the religion of a people depend on enthusiasm, which, under the best management, will be fitful and intermittent, like the heats and chills of a fever, both alike indicative of disease.

Having resolved to follow up the blow Whitefield had given, his friends in Boston immediately set in motion the machinery necessary for this purpose; the same, in general, with that employed in such cases at the present day. It is remarkable that 'the first stated evening lecture in these parts of the world' was instituted on this occasion.* Every thing succeeded, in the outset, according to their most sanguine expectations; and it is instructive to compare the language of vaunting and exultation in which they then indulged, with that of mortification and disappointment, wrung from them after experience had made them wiser. It was another Pentecost; the millennium had begun; and the 'herd of heretics' were confounded.

'I am now to inform you, that since my last our exalted Saviour has been riding forth in his magnificence and glory through divers parts of our land, in so triumphant a manner as hath never been seen or heard among us, or among any other people, as we know of, since the apostles' days. He is daily making his most resolute opposers to fall down under him; and almost every week we hear of new and surprising conquests, and even almost all at once, and in a manner over whole congregations, where whole

* See the *Christian History* for 1744, p. 382.

assemblies lay as congregations of the dead ; the day of the power of Christ comes at once upon us, and they are almost altogether, both whites and blacks, both old and young, both profane and moral, awakened and made alive to God. It is astonishing to see some who were like incarnate devils, thrown at once into such extreme distress as no pen can possibly describe, or absent mind imagine, and in two or three days time turned into eminent saints, full of divine adoration, love, and joy unspeakable and full of glory.*

When sensible and good men could express themselves so, we cannot wonder that enthusiasts should take advantage of the ferment ; and many soon appeared on the stage, among whom the most remarkable were the Tennents, Whelock, Pomroy, Barber, and Davenport. Most of these had received some previous training under David Ferris, a noted fanatic, of whom some account is given in a letter to Dr Chauncy.

‘I cannot better describe the man, than by relating what he said to me. He told me, he was certain not one in ten of the communicants in New Haven Church would be saved, but would go directly down to hell when they died. He said it was a call from Heaven, his coming to college ; that it was revealed to him when he was sick, that he should recover ; that when he died, he knew he should have a higher seat in the kingdom of heaven than Moses, which knowledge was from the illumination of God’s spirit ; that he knew God’s will in all things, and lived agreeable thereto to that perfection, that if he were to die that night, he would not desire to have an alteration made in one article of his life for six years, for he had not been guilty of any sin in that time. He was, to be short, filled with imaginary revelations. He had a proud and haughty spirit, and appeared strongly desirous of applause. He was blind to his own faults, and other men’s virtues ; but quick to spy out some things amiss in his neighbours, and would judge and condemn all but his own party and enthusiastic zealots like himself. He would do all in his power to advance his own opinions, and loved to head a party, to whom he could dictate, and on whom he could impose his principles as certainties. And as he would have it, so it happened ; for, by hiding himself under a cloak of zeal, some gloomy persons among the students were ensnared by him, who, having mixed something of devotion with their melancholy tempers, became his admirers, and had his person in admiration to that degree, that they believed all he said to be true, and entertained such an opinion of

* Letter of Rev. Mr Prince appended to Whitefield’s Vindication and Confirmation of the Remarkable Work of God in New England. Glasgow, 1742.

his worth, that they drank in all his errors without examination. His word to them was demonstration. Verily, they seemed to think, he could neither deceive, nor be deceived. They endeavoured to imitate him in all things, as far as they could. Mr Davenport, Whelock, Pomroy, and others, were those who lived with this Ferris most familiarly, and have since divulged his errors, and filled places where they have preached, with the superstitions and groundless opinions they learned from him, who was their father and dictator, as to their belief. *Chauncy*, pp. 210—212.

It is one of the evils incident to a highly excited state of the public mind, that the more judicious and discriminating soon fall under suspicion, and gradually lose their influence and authority, being supplanted in the confidence of the people by men of warmer temperaments, who are willing to feed more freely, the growing passion with the stimulants it craves. If the subjects of this awakening would have followed, in all respects, the counsel of such men as the Boston ministers, or Mr Edwards, we must presume it would have prevented many of the revolting scenes which ensued; but this ought not to have been expected. For a while, all thought, and felt, and acted together; but men are differently constituted, and the more excitable soon outstripped the others in their zeal, and any attempts to check their excesses were construed into an opposition to the whole work, and were watched with the same jealousy. The more temperate and judicious among the promoters of the revival were reduced, therefore, to the alternative of conniving, at least for a time, at the extravagances committed daily by their coadjutors, or losing their influence over them altogether. Considering, then, that the whole community, in the highest possible state of excitement in many places, was abandoned to the devices of such men as are described in our last extract, fanatics by nature and education, we may regret, but we cannot wonder at the delusions and outrages of which the histories of the time are full.

‘Moreover, the way in which these terrors spread themselves, is a circumstance that does not much favor their Divine origin. They seem to be suddenly propagated, from one to another, as in a great fright or consternation. They often begin with a single person, a child, or woman, or lad, whose shrieks set others a shrieking; and so the shrieks catch from one to another, till the whole congregation is alarmed, and such an awful scene, many times, opened, as no imagination can paint to the life. To this

purpose is that in the Boston Post Boy, when after an account of the terrible language made use of by the itinerants, 'tis added, 'This frequently frights the little children, and sets them a screaming; and *that* frights their tender mothers, and sets them to screaming, and by degrees spreads over a great part of the congregation. And forty, fifty, or an hundred of them screaming all together, makes such an awful and hideous noise as will make a man's hair stand an end. Some will faint away, fall down upon the floor, wallow, and foam. Some women will rend off their caps, handkerchiefs, and other clothes; tear their hair down about their ears, and seem perfectly bereft of their reason.'—*Ibid.* pp. 105, 106.

'Another bad thing, I must not omit to mention, is, the confusion that has been so common, of late, in some of our houses for worship; I mean not only on account of the screamings and shriekings of the people, but their talking, and praying, and exhorting, and singing, and laughing, and congratulating one another by shaking hands, and sometimes kissing; and all at the same time, and in the same assembly; on which things their hearts have been so zealously set, that the same houses have scarce been emptied for a week together, night or day. It may seem incredible simply to relate these facts; but they are the real truth. Says a friend, in giving an account of some things he was himself a witness to; 'Half a score of them would be exhorting all together, and more, many times, and some would be praying; some again would do nothing but sing, and that for an hour, or more. And thus there would be exhorting, praying, singing, all at the same time, by those different persons; whereby the noise was so confused and loud, that a person could scarce speak to another so as to be heard.' And a little onwards; 'The meeting was carried on with what appeared to me great confusion; some screaming out in distress and anguish; some praying; others singing; some again jumping up and down the house, while others were exhorting; some lying along on the floor, and others walking and talking; the whole with a very great noise, to be heard at a mile's distance, and continued almost the whole night.' And yet again; 'Many of the young women would go about the house praying and exhorting; then they would separate themselves from the other people, and get into a corner of the house to sing and rejoice together; and then they would break forth into as great a laughter as could be, to think, as they expressed it, that they should go hand in hand to heaven. Then they would speak it over again, and shout out into a great laughter, laughing and singing, jumping up and down, and clapping their hands together; and some would be so filled with joy, as they pretended, that they could not stand nor walk. And all this,

when, at the same time, there are threescore persons lying, some on the floor, some across the seats, while others were held up and supported in great distress.' And after some other things upon the times he adds ; ' Thus they spent more than seven days. The meetinghouse was scarce empty, but some or other were there, the whole of the time, both night and day.' Agreeable whereto is another account from another part of the country ; ' They had a public exercise every day, and for nine nights successively. Numbers of the people continued the greatest part of the night, in the utmost disorder. They were groaning, crying out, fainting, falling down, praying ; exhorting, singing, laughing, congratulating each other, which they did by shaking hands and embraces ; the latter was commonly practised by different sexes, and by the fifth night, there were almost three hundred thus affected, who were acting their different parts at the same time ; which occasioned inexpressible confusion, and rendered it impossible to make a just observation upon all that passed ; but I evidently found—' To the like purpose is what we have printed in the *Boston Post Boy*,—' He (Mr Davenport) and some other ministers, and young gifted brethren, held forth every day on the Commencement week, and generally continued till ten or eleven at night, and then a great part of their carryings on was, not by praying, singing, and preaching upon a text, as usual ; but one would make a short prayer, then another give a word of exhortation ; then one would propose a psalm, then another a prayer, then another a word of exhortation, and so on, without any certain order, or method ; so that in one meeting of two or three hours, there would be, it may be, twenty or thirty distinct exercises carried on, by five or ten distinct persons ; some standing in the pulpit, some in the body of the seats, some in the pews, and some up gallery ; and oftentimes, several of them would speak together. So that some praying, some exhorting, and terrifying, some singing, some screaming, some crying, some laughing, and some scolding, made the most amazing confusion that ever was heard.' *Ibid.* pp. 239—241.

We lament, as much as any one can, that a faithful sketch of the period could not be given without reminding our readers of these scenes, on which no serious person can dwell without extreme pain, and it is proper to say that this consideration has induced us to keep back many statements, unquestionably authentic, which are still more offensive. Indeed, things had come to such a pass, that the Boston ministers, and others, perceived it to be necessary that something should be immediately done to reconcile sober men to the idea, that the hand of God was visible in these disturbances. With

this view they attempted to make a distinction between those effects of the revival which were to be ascribed to the effusion of the Spirit, and those which were to be regarded as mere human appendages, or the delusions of the devil; and as Mr Davenport had distinguished himself by his fanatical practices, they were induced, in July, 1742, to publish a declaration against his errors and irregularities.* This miserable man, after having been pronounced *non compos mentis* by the General Assembly in Connecticut and by a Suffolk jury, was persuaded himself, in 1744, to make a Confession and Retractations, and allow them to be printed. A person unacquainted with the tendency of enthusiasm to pervert men's moral judgments, may be amazed that this lunatic was countenanced so long, and had such influence, and that such an opinion was entertained of his sanctity.

‘Mr Whitefield declared in conversation, that he never knew one keep so close a walk with God as Mr Davenport. In one of his Journals he stigmatizes the town of Stanford after this manner; that it was a place where Mr Davenport, a dear minister of the blessed Jesus, was slighted and despised. And, doubtless when he hears of, or sees what the Association have done lately, he will take up the same lamentation concerning Boston. Mr Tennent, in my hearing, affirmed Mr Davenport to be one of the most heavenly men he ever was acquainted with. Mr Pomroy, who is acquainted with both, thinks he doth not come one whit behind Mr Whitefield, but rather goes beyond him, for heavenly communion and fellowship with the Father and with the Son Jesus Christ. Mr Parsons of Lyme, told me the other day, that not one minister whom he had seen was to be compared with Mr Davenport, for living near to God, and having his conversation always in heaven. Mr Owen also of Groton said lately, that the idea he had of the apostles themselves scarcely exceeded what he saw in Mr Davenport. In brief, there is not one minister in all Connecticut that is zealously affected in the good cause of God at this day, but instead of slighting him, is apt to think more highly of him than we ought to think of men, and to receive him almost as if he was an angel from heaven. God grant that Mr Davenport may get no harm by these high commendations, which for the glory of God, I have forced myself to bestow upon him; but may he always have such a sense of his remaining corruptions, as that he may loath himself before an infinitely holy God; and be a worm and no man in his own eyes!’ †

* See the Christian History for 1744, p. 407.

† Mr Croswell's Reply to the Declaration of a number of the Associated Ministers in Boston and Charlestown, with regard to the Rev. Mr James Davenport and his Conduct, p. 8, 9.

It is a memorable fact that this distinction between the essentials of the revival, and its incidental and vicious appendages, instead of restoring it to general favor, gave the fatal blow from which it never recovered, by creating schism and discord among its friends and promoters. From the beginning the proceedings in Boston had been viewed with disapprobation by many of the clergy in the country, and by the clergy in Connecticut almost universally. The opposition gathered strength daily, as the bad and dangerous tendency of the measures of the revivalists became more and more apparent, and we are sorry to add that their conduct was not always marked, particularly in Connecticut, with a due regard to justice, seriousness, and christian liberty. Harvard College came out with its Testimony against Whitefield and his errors signed by all the Faculty, in 1744; and this gave rise to a controversy in which the college found an able champion in the author of one of the most spirited and caustic publications of the day. It was in reply to William Hobby of Reading, who had said, that unless real and substantial godliness was better understood and practised within a few years after he left the college, than when he was there, Whitefield had not calumniated the institution.

‘But endeavour, if you can, impartially to recollect the state of the college while you was there; and then, if shame and sorrow will suit a constitution like yours, be covered with confusion for what you have wrote. The gentleman at the head of the society, when you entered, was a staunch Calvinist in principle, of strict morals, and exercised the severest discipline. His successor was renowned through the whole land for his piety; his name is, upon that account, mentioned among us with the utmost honor, and his memory will live forever. The tutors and professors were, while you belonged to the society, of virtuous lives and conversations, and of unblemished characters; and all of them, except the two discarded by the college, do, at this day, make a distinguished figure in church or state. Morning and evening prayers were constantly kept up; the holy scriptures read, and a strict attendance required. None were allowed to absent themselves from the public worship on Lord’s days, without some necessary hindrance. Vice and immorality of all kinds were forbidden upon the severest penalties, and when detected were sure to be punished. And now, what sign of darkness in all this? Why, say you, “we dwelt much upon the shell of religion, but little regarded [the pearl of great price.” That is, in other words, the students did not, as the fashion is among some sort of

people at this day, tell one another how often they said their prayers, and how good they felt themselves. What pity is it, that a practice, so suited to gratify a vain temper, was not then in vogue? If it had been, I doubt not we should have had a much earlier date to your conversion.*

Every thing now indicated the disrepute into which the revival had fallen among all sensible men, whose ambition, pride, or regard for consistency was not implicated. In the Annual Convention in 1743, the clergy of the province drew up and printed their united Testimony against the Disorders in the Land; which had great influence in fixing public sentiment. It is true the friends of the revival had a separate meeting on the day after the following Commencement, to give in a counter Testimony; but though ninety are said to have been present, only sixty-eight voted, and fifteen of these clogged their vote with a condition, which clearly showed that they had begun to be ashamed of their party.† To show how utterly desperate their cause soon became, it is only necessary to add, that, on calling a similar meeting in 1745, though all New-England was represented, they could muster but twenty ministers. The declension of the excitement, as might be expected, was more or less rapid in different places; but it began to decline every where from the moment when the excesses of a few made it necessary for the rest to admit, that a part, at least, of the pretended influences of the Spirit were to be referred to the machinations of Satan. The step was inevitable perhaps, but it was nevertheless a fatal one; a fact in which the writers on both sides appear to have been perfectly agreed. As to the use which the ministers of Boston were endeavouring to make of Davenport's recantations, it was said:

'If Mr Davenport or his friends hope to reestablish the credit of the chief workers in the late work, as really sent of God, they must necessarily be disappointed. The confessing and giving up such things as were indisputably owing to the false Spirit will never establish the rest. Enthusiasts must never retract any thing any more than the Pope; if they once give up their infalli-

* *Twig of Birch for Billy's Breech.* Boston, 1744, p. 10. Published anonymously, but known to have been from the pen of Richard Pateshall, a layman of Boston, who graduated at Cambridge in 1735. Professor Wigglesworth's Letter to Whitefield is one of the most valuable papers which the occasion drew forth.

† See the *Christian History* for 1743, p. 155, *et seq.*

bility they are infallibly gone. And from thence it came to pass, that ever since the fatal distinction of appendages and essential parts, the whole work has been at an awful stand.*

The language of Mr Prince is still more striking, especially when contrasted with that he had used on former occasions, of which we have given a specimen.

‘And thus successfully did this divine work, as above described, go on in town, without any lisp, as I remember, of a separation either in this town or province, for above a year and half after Mr Whitefield left us, viz. the end of June 1742, when the Rev. Mr Davenport of Long Island came to Boston. And then through the awful providence of the sovereign God, the wisdom of whose ways is past finding out, we unexpectedly came to an unhappy period.’——‘Now a disputatious spirit most grievously prevailed among us; and what almost ever attends it, much censoriousness, and reflection; which had a further tendency to inflame and alienate, and whereof many of every party were sadly guilty.’——‘The Sovereign spirit in his awakening influences in the unconverted, and his enlivening efficacy in the hopefully renewed, in this town, has seemed these two last years in a gradual and awful manner to withdraw.’——‘Of those who were in the late effusion wrought on, diverse are sometimes repairing to me with sad complaints of their spiritual dullness, darkness and decays.’—*Christian History for 1743*, pp. 406, 408, 414.

This was the state of things in Boston, and in other towns it was no better. It will be recollected that before Mr Whitefield’s visit to New England, there had been a great revival at Northampton; in which, according to Mr Edwards’s account, almost every person of any consequence in the place who had arrived to years of discretion had become a subject of the sanctifying influences of the Spirit. The revival in 1740 and 1741, was also felt here, especially among the young. On one occasion Mr Edwards tells us, that ‘the children were there very generally and greatly effected with the warnings and counsels that were given them, and many exceedingly overcome; and the room was filled with cries, and when they were dismissed, they, almost all of them, went home crying aloud through the streets, to all parts of the town.’† He also thinks that the work, these last years, ‘seemed to be much more pure, having less of a corrupt mixture than in the former great

* An Impartial Examination of Mr Davenport’s Retractations, p. 5.

† ‘The Christian History for 1743,’ p. 370.

outpouring of the spirit in 1735 and 1736.* Here, then, was a town which had been visited by more revivals than any other, and was under the vigilant and active ministry of the most renowned manager of revivals; and some may therefore be expecting to learn that it long continued the chosen abode of peace and virtue, so that in all after time, if any one durst lisp a syllable against revivals, men might say, 'Look at Northampton.'

Let us then look at Northampton. In 1744, after the lapse of only two years, disclosures were made, which, according to Mr Edwards' biographer, revealed the diseased and rotten state of the morals of the church.

'Mr Edwards was informed that some young persons in town who were members of the church, had books in their possession which they employed to promote lascivious and obscene discourse among the young people. Upon inquiry, a number of persons testified that they had heard one and another, from time to time, talk obscenely; as what they were led to, by reading a book or books which they had among them. Mr Edwards thought the brethren of the church ought to look into the matter; and in order to introduce it, he preached a sermon from Heb. xii. 15, 16, "Looking diligently, lest any man fail of the grace of God, lest any root of bitterness springing up trouble you, and thereby many be defiled: Lest there be any fornicator, or profane person, as Esau, &c.'" After sermon, he desired the brethren of the church to stay, and told them what information he had got; and proposed, whether they thought proper to take any measures to examine into the matter.—*Edwards' Works*, Vol. 1, p. 63.

It soon appeared that most of the considerable families in the town, were implicated; and though they consented, in the first instance, to the investigation, they afterwards altered their minds, and the authority of the church was openly defied and insulted. The dispute gathered heat as it went on, until the whole town was in a blaze; and from that moment the influence of Mr Edwards was at an end, and the men who had been accustomed to consult their passions rather than their reason in religion, continued to do it in every controversy that arose. After a few years spent in divisions and strifes that were a scandal to the whole country, it was apparent that a separation must take place, and with this view a Council was convened in the summer of 1750.

'After they had made some fruitless attempts for a composition between the pastor and church, they passed a resolution by a ma-

* See the Christian History for 1743, p. 379.

majority of one voice only, to the following purpose: "That it is expedient that the pastoral relation between Mr Edwards and his church be immediately dissolved, if the people still persist in desiring it." And it being publicly put to the people, whether they still insisted on Mr Edwards's dismissal from the pastoral office over them? a great majority, above two hundred against twenty, voted for his dismissal; and he was accordingly dismissed, June 22, 1750.'—*Ibid.* p. 69.

These facts are of a nature to make comment unnecessary; but it is worthy of remark that the opposition to most of Mr Edwards' measures was headed by Joseph Hawley, one of the ablest, certainly one of the most disinterested, patriots of the Revolution. It is true, ten years afterwards, in a letter to a member of the Council abovementioned, this gentleman speaks of the folly and wickedness of his conduct on that occasion, in the strongest terms of selfabasement and selfloathing; but there are internal marks that the letter was written in one of those fits of constitutional melancholy to which he was subject,* and we can hardly reconcile it with fairness to bring forward the moanings of a disordered mind, and parade them as an authority.

The account of the revival in Brookline, which appeared at the time in the *Christian History*, was republished, not long ago, in one of the orthodox journals as a remarkable testimony in favor of revivals generally.† Probably the editor was ignorant of the fact that Mr Allen, the author of that account, and the minister of the place, told his people from the pulpit, about six months afterwards, that having often recommended the work and endeavoured to promote it, as the work of God, he now felt constrained publicly to declare, that further inquiry and experience had convinced him it was the work of the devil. A few of his church, who were too much infected with the fever of the times to listen to reason, immediately withdrew, handing in at the same time a memorial of their grievancies and their reasons for separation. One of

* 'With all those powerful talents and noble feelings he [Hawley] was not exempt from a misfortune that occasionally threw its dark shadows over them. He was subject at particular times to a hypochondriac disorder, that would envelope him in gloom and despondency. At these seasons he was oppressed with melancholy and would lament every action and exertion of his life. When his mind recovered its tone, the recollection of these sufferings was painful, and he disliked to have them remembered.' *Tudor's Life of Otis*, p. 259.

† The Boston Recorder and Telegraph, December 3, 1825. The account is abridged.

these was : ' We think Mr Allen's preaching had a tendency to settle persons down upon works ; for he said, speaking to persons out of Christ, that if they used the means, as praying and attending public worship and ordinances, and refrained from all sin as much as they could, they might humbly hope to be saved.' This memorial was signed by six persons, one of whom was Elhanan Winchester, father of the celebrated Universalist of that name. He afterwards renounced his Newlightism, and adopted his son's sentiments ; and again, in his old age, was led away by the Shakers, and is reported to have said on his death bed, ' When I was a Calvinist and when I was a Universalist, I *thought* I was right, but now I *know* I am.' Of the other five, one was afterwards detected in stealing faggots, another was frozen to death in a fit of drunkenness, and of the rest nothing is known.

We might go on to mention the unhappy consequences of the revival in other towns, after the minds of men, already in a state of high excitement, became soured and estranged ; but it would be painful and invidious, and we forbear. No doctrine is more popular at the present day, than that a man's orthodoxy is tested by his favoring religious excitements as commonly conducted, connected with the insinuation that none but Unitarians ever oppose them. It happens, however, that in the time of Whitefield, an immense majority of the New England churches and ministers were Calvinists, strict Calvinists, and the trinity had never been impugned in the provinces ; and yet it was here, that one of the most remarkable revivals ever known was discountenanced and put down. The following estimate of its results, drawn up, too, before the worst of them had been fully developed, is from the pen of a cotemporary and a Calvinist.

' For myself, I am among those who are clearly in the opinion that there never was such a spirit of superstition and enthusiasm reigning in the land before ; never such gross disorders and barefaced affronts to common decency ; never such scandalous reproaches on the Blessed Spirit, making him the author of the greatest irregularities and confusions. Yet I am of opinion also, that the appearances among us, so much out of the ordinary way, and so unaccountable to persons not acquainted with the history of the world, have been the means of awakening the attention of many ; and a good number, I hope, have settled into a truly christian temper. Though I must add, at the same time, that I am far from thinking, that the appearance, in general, is any

other than the effect of enthusiastic heat. The goodness that has been so much talked of, 'tis plain to me, is nothing more, in general, than a commotion in the passions. I cannot see that men have been made better, if hereby be meant their being formed to a nearer resemblance of the Divine Being in moral holiness. It is not evident to me, that persons, generally, have a better understanding of religion, a better government of their passions, a more christian love to their neighbour, or that they are more decent and regular in their devotions towards God. I am clearly of the mind, they are worse in all these regards. They place their religion so much in the heat and fervor of their passions, that they too much neglect their reason and judgment; and instead of being more kind and gentle, more full of mercy and good fruits, they are more bitter, fierce and implacable. And what is a grand discriminating mark of this work, wherever it takes place, is, that it makes men spiritually proud and conceited beyond measure, infinitely censorious and uncharitable, to neighbours, to relations, even the nearest and dearest; to ministers in an especial manner; yea, to all mankind, who are not as they are, and don't think and act as they do. And there are few places where this work has been in any remarkable manner, but they have been filled with faction and contention; yea, in some, they have divided into parties, and openly and scandalously separated from one another.'—*Letter to Wishart*, pp. 21, 22.

A quaint writer has said, that to exchange the vices of levity and sensuality for those of uncharitableness and spiritual pride, is but laying down the sins of a man to take up the sins of a devil. This, by the consent of all parties, seems to have been in many places almost the only fruit of the revival; and the remarks of Dr Chauncy on this point are universally applicable.

'I know, in some cases, it may admit of dispute, what is uncharitable judging; and so it may, what is intemperance, or injustice, or oppression, and the like. But this does not argue but that in other instances, the intemperance or injustice may be so evident, as to leave no room for debate upon the matter. And this is the case with respect to the judging that now prevails. If there is any such vice, it now takes place: nor can it easily be imagined wherein men could be more grossly guilty of it. This prohibition of our Saviour was never, I believe, more outrageously trampled upon than it now commonly is, by multitudes of those who call themselves good Christians. In respect to many, it is as plain they live in the breach of this law of God, as that any do in the breach of the law of temperance or righteousness. And it ought to be considered with all seriousness, that uncharitable, cen-

sorious judging is a sin as well as intemperance or injustice ; and perhaps as bad a sin, if not a worse. And it ought not therefore to be excused. The same lawgiver and judge who has said, Thou shalt not steal, or get drunk, has also said, Thou shalt not judge ; and the law is guarded with the like sanction of death and hell. It is therefore dangerous to men's souls to speak of this mischievous vice as a human frailty only, a mere imprudence that will well enough consist with a work of God in their hearts. It is true, good men may be betrayed into this sin ; and so they may into drunkenness, or injustice ; but if they allow themselves in it, if they live in the habitual practice of it, it will as certainly damn them as if they lived in the practice of any other sin.'—*Chauncy*, pp. 173, 174.

He is also completely successful in repelling the objection that the evils originating in the revival were merely accidental.

'It has been suggested concerning the bad things of the present day, taken collectively, that they are only accidental effects of a good work. But how do we distinguish between accidental effects and those that are natural ? Is it not by the frequency, and uniformity of their production ? If such and such effects are found, in experience, to be the common and general attendants of such and such causes, at one time and another, in this place and the other, don't we always speak of them as natural, and never as accidental only ? Yea, is not the doctrine of causes and effects wholly founded on this kind of observation and experience ? And if in this way we judge of the bad things prevailing in these times, can it be thought they are nothing more than accidental effects of a good cause ? Will any pretend, that they are rare productions ? or, that they have been peculiar to here and there a person, in here and there a particular place ? Is it not a known, undeniable fact, that they have appeared in all parts of the land ; yea, in every place upon the whole continent, in a greater or less degree ; and this among persons of all ranks, ages, sexes, and conditions, who have been wrought upon in these days ? And have not these effects been most remarkably visible in those, who have been spoken of as the most remarkable subjects of the present operation ? These are truths that cannot be disowned. They are as evident as the light shining at noonday. And is it possible, if these effects were merely accidental, that they should be thus uniform and almost universal ? We must give up our understandings before we can entertain such a thought of them.'—*Ibid.* pp. 307, 308.

To protect ourselves against misconstruction, it is necessary to observe, once for all, that in what we have said of revivals of religion, we have not used that word in its literal, but

only in its common and popular acceptance. In the prayers and endeavors of Christians every thing must yield to a desire to increase in the minds of men a reverence for religious principle, and a practical conformity to the truth as it is in Jesus. If we have succeeded in connecting together the testimonies we have given, so as to give the reader some idea of the manner in which cotemporaries thought and spoke of the greatest and most extensive movement ever felt in our churches, our design, an humble one, has been accomplished. It will be seen that its friends and promoters were disappointed in every one of their expectations. They expected it would promote vital piety ; but it began by occasioning strife and separation, and ended in inducing a distrust of all pretensions to uncommon sanctity, and the coldness and deadness which follow, almost necessarily, seasons of unnatural excitement. They expected it would give currency and popularity to their peculiar tenets ; but no event in the ecclesiastical history of this country ever did so much to bring them into disrepute, and give an impulse to contrary opinions ; and from this time, Arminianism and Arianism may be considered as firmly established in New England. They expected it would bring into favor a new mode of elevating the tone of moral and religious feeling in the community ; but it only served to expose its bad and dangerous tendencies, until all were convinced of them ; as was sufficiently apparent in the avidity and satisfaction with which Dr Chauncy's book was read, throughout the country, and in the remarkable fact that the preachers before the Convention, for several years, were chosen from among those, who had distinguished themselves in their opposition to the delusions which had prevailed.

ART.XVI.—*A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews. In two Volumes.* By MOSES STUART, Associate Professor of Sacred Literature, in the Theological Seminary at Andover. Vol. I. Andover, 1827. 8vo.

THE question respecting the author of the Epistle, as it is called, to the Hebrews, is one of much importance in its various bearings. In modern times, the opinion that it is the work of St Paul, has been acquiesced in by the generality of Christians without much examination. It is only as his

work, that it can have claim to canonical authority. But the truth of the common supposition respecting the authorship of the Epistle, has been doubted or denied by a large portion of critics best qualified to judge of its correctness. We are, however, unacquainted with any work in which the arguments against it are fully stated; and there is none in English which gives even a tolerably correct view of them. It is our purpose, therefore, to adduce those proofs, which seem to us to establish the conclusion, that the Epistle was not written by St Paul.

Before doing so, however, it will be proper to premise some facts respecting the work in question.

1. In the first place, it is a very ancient work, written before, probably not long before, the destruction of Jerusalem. In the epistle of Clement of Rome, written probably in the latter part of the first century, there are passages which strikingly correspond to others in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and show that the mind of the writer was imbued with what he had read in that work. But he does not ascribe it to St Paul as its author. The circumstance just mentioned, therefore, only goes to prove the admitted fact of the antiquity of the epistle.

2. In the second place, if the author were not St Paul, he had no intention of assuming his character, and passing off the Epistle as the composition of the apostle. It is, in no case, therefore, a fraudulent or spurious work.

3. Lastly, the original language of the Epistle was Greek; not Hebrew, as was supposed by some of the ancient fathers, who believed St Paul to have written it in Hebrew, and regarded the work which we now possess, as only a translation. The fact that it was written in Greek, is of importance in determining whether St Paul was its author. It might be necessary, therefore, to state at length the proofs which make this fact evident, if they had not been often adduced by others; and if there were not at the present day a general consent of the learned in admitting it. The internal marks of the original language of the Epistle are decisive. Writing in Greek, the author quoted, not the Hebrew of the Old Testament, but the Septuagint. He has quoted this version where it varies in sense from the original, and connected his reasoning with the mistake of the translator.* In a striking

* Ch. x. 5. Comp. LXX. Ps. xxxix. 7.—See also Ch. i. 6, compared with LXX. Deut. xxxii. 43.

instance, likewise, his remarks depend upon the double sense of a Greek word, which may mean either *covenant*, or *testament*. The corresponding Hebrew word has the sense only of *covenant*. In our language there is no word which combines both meanings. As the passage, therefore, is, strictly speaking, intranslatable into our language, so it never could have existed in the Hebrew. The passage referred to is in chapter ix. 15—20.

We will now proceed to the proof, that St Paul was not the author of the Epistle. It will be proper first to attend to the testimony and opinions of the ancients, and then to consider the evidence afforded by the Epistle itself.

Irenæus, who flourished during the last quarter of the second century, is a most important witness respecting the reception of the books of the New Testament among Christians. But there is no ground for supposing that he believed St Paul to be the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews; nor do his writings afford any evidence that this was the common belief of Christians before and during his time. We have proof from Eusebius that he was acquainted with the Epistle; but he does not ascribe it to the apostle, nor quote it as of authority. Considering the frequency with which he quotes St Paul's acknowledged epistles, referring them to him, these facts show that he did not consider him as its author.

Tertullian, about the year 200, was acquainted with the Epistle; but he expressly speaks of Barnabas as its author. He does not quote it as a work of canonical authority; though in the single passage in which he does quote it, his purpose in doing so would have led him to ascribe to it such authority, if it had been commonly supposed to possess it. He contrasts its reception among Christians with that of another work, of which he speaks contemptuously, the Shepherd of Hermas, and says that it was better received among the churches than that book.* His meaning is that it was in more general circulation, and in higher esteem.

Irenæus spent a considerable part of his life in Asia Minor, and was afterwards bishop of Lyons in Gaul. Tertullian was a presbyter of Garthage. Their cotemporary, Clement, resided at Alexandria, as the head of the principal school which then existed for the instruction of Christians. He quotes the Epis-

* De Pudicitia, c. 20.

tle as the work of St Paul. In a fragment, preserved by Eusebius, of one of his writings not now extant, he expressly says that it was his work; adding that 'Paul wrote to the Hebrews in the Hebrew language, but that Luke carefully translated it for the use of the Gentiles. Hence it is that we find the same complexion of style in this epistle as translated and in the Acts.'* He afterwards states a reason which, he says, was suggested by a person, who has been supposed to be Pantænus, his predecessor in the school at Alexandria, why Paul did not call himself an apostle, in this work.

The circumstance of his having derived this reason from some one a little older than himself, has been thought to give additional value to the evidence of Clement of Alexandria. But it does not. At the time when he wrote, he could not have asserted, upon his own knowledge, that the epistle was written by St Paul. His belief must have rested upon some preceding belief, opinion, or supposition; whether that of Pantænus or not, is a matter of small importance. To whom-ever Clement may refer, we are ignorant whether that individual regarded it as any thing more than a probable conjecture, that St Paul was the author of the epistle.

But, on the other hand, there are considerations which greatly invalidate the evidence of Clement. He was a very extensive reader, but he was careless of inquiring into the genuineness and authority of the books which he quoted. He trusted too much to their titles, or to the reports concerning them which might happen to reach him. Some of the facts which he states are manifestly inaccurate. The Epistle was not written in Hebrew. It, therefore, was not translated by St Luke. But when we find him in error respecting these two main particulars, we can place but little reliance on his account of its author. In addition to this, the Epistle is throughout suited to the taste of the Alexandrine writers. It is a work which Clement would be likely to value highly, and would thus be led readily to adopt a supposition that St Paul was its author. The favor which it found with the Alexandrine school, and the high authority of the christian writers of this school, were probably the causes of its being, in process of time, generally received by the Greek churches as a canonical book, and the work of the apostle.

* Apud. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. vi. c. 14.

No other preceding or cotemporary writer ascribes the Epistle to St Paul. On the contrary, it was denied to be his by Caius, a distinguished writer at Rome, about the year 210 ; * and by Hippolytus, about the year 220. † Nor is it ascribed to the apostle in the famous account of canonical and apocryphal books, discovered in manuscript and published by Muratori, which was probably written about the close of the second century.

The three writers, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria, are those on whom we principally rely for the earliest direct evidence, concerning the reception and authority of the books of the New Testament among Christians. In regard to the Gospels, the Acts, the thirteen epistles of Paul, the first of Peter, and the first of John, their evidence is joined by that of preceding, cotemporary, and subsequent writers, till the proof becomes decisive, that those books were universally received by catholic Christians during the first two centuries, as the works of the authors to whom they are ascribed. This is the main external evidence on which we rest for their genuineness. They had accompanied the religion as it spread itself over the world, had been received with it, and were acknowledged by the great body of Christians as its authentic records. When we attend to the full force of this argument, we shall find that the proof of the genuineness of the more important books of the New Testament, differs, not only in degree, but in kind, from the proof of the genuineness of any other writings. It is the testimony of a whole widely spread community, to their belief, that certain works of the highest interest to them were the productions of the individuals to whom they are ascribed ; it being understood that these works would be of comparatively little, or even of no value, if they were not the productions of those individuals. It is the proof which the early fathers afford of the general reception of certain books as sacred books, throughout the christian community, which is the point to be regarded in our investigations respecting the genuineness of those books. Where this proof is wanting, the individual opinions of the fathers are comparatively of little value. In common with other ancient writers, they were liable to mistakes concerning the authors and history of books, to a degree, which, with our incomparably greater facilities for obtaining

* See Lardner's Works, vol. I. pp. 482—484. 4to. Lond. 1815.

† Ibid. p. 497.

information on all subjects, it is difficult for us to estimate justly. Accordingly, they fell into many errors.

Proceeding upon these principles, we find that the evidence is wanting, which is required to prove or to render it probable, that St Paul was the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. It clearly was not generally received as his work during the last half of the second century. It had not been handed down as such to the cotemporaries of Irenæus and Tertullian; and we have nothing in favor of the supposition that it was written by St Paul, except the opinion of Clement of Alexandria, a writer particularly incautious on subjects of this sort, and who, in consequence, has repeatedly fallen into mistakes respecting the authors of different works.

But this deficiency of evidence not only leaves us without satisfactory ground for believing the Epistle to be the composition of St Paul; it assumes the character of a strong objection to this hypothesis. It is highly improbable, that an epistle really written by St Paul, so elaborate, and so pregnant, as its admirers have believed, with the peculiar doctrines of Christianity, should not have been universally received as his work. No satisfactory answer can be given to the question, why, if written by him, it did not obtain equal reception with his other epistles. If it were not his work, we can easily explain how it came to be considered so; as those by whom it was valued, would be ready to ascribe it, even upon slight grounds, to an individual so distinguished. If it were his work, we do not perceive that any probable account can be given of its not being generally received as such.

No show of subsequent evidence, if such existed, could in any degree supply the deficiency which has been pointed out. The value of passages in the later fathers, respecting the genuineness of the books of the New Testament, great as it sometimes is, consists solely in the light which they throw upon the state of opinion concerning those books during the first two centuries. At a subsequent time, no facts could be known or rendered probable, by testimony, which were not known during that period. But as regards the Epistle to the Hebrews, in proceeding to the later fathers, we only find confirmation of the conclusion to which we have arrived.

Origen, the disciple of Clement of Alexandria, and the most eminent christian writer of his age, did not feel such confidence, that the Epistle was written by St Paul, as seems

to have been expressed by his master. In a passage preserved by Eusebius, he says ; 'The style of the Epistle does not show that want of skill in composition which is characteristic of the apostle, who professed himself to be unskilled in eloquence, that is, in style. But every one who has knowledge enough to judge of the differences of style, will allow that the Epistle is composed in somewhat elegant Greek ; and on the other hand, every one who has read attentively the apostolic writings, will acknowledge the truth, that its thoughts are admirable, and not inferior to those in the undisputed writings of the apostle.' Afterwards, says Eusebius, he subjoins ; 'In giving my own opinion, I should say, that the thoughts are those of the apostle, but the style and method those of some one who recorded the discourses of the apostle ; making notes, as it were, of what had been said by his instructor. If then any church receive this as an epistle of Paul, it is to be approved for doing so ; for it was not without some reason, that the ancient men have handed it down as Paul's. But the truth as to the writer of the Epistle, God knows. Different accounts have reached us ; some saying that it was written by Clement, who was made bishop of Rome, and others by Luke, who wrote the Gospel and Acts.' *

It is clear that Origen wished to ascribe as high authority as possible to the Epistle ; but that, with this feeling, he did not believe St Paul to have been the writer of it. The thoughts he considered worthy of him ; and upon this ground, he advances the conjecture that the writer derived them from the apostle, so that St Paul might, in a certain sense, be considered as the author of the work. Any church, therefore, which received it as his, was to be commended. By 'the ancient men,' of whom he speaks, he, probably, meant his predecessors at Alexandria, such as Clement and Pantænus ; for the passage is taken from a homily delivered in that city, when he himself was about sixty years old. Referring to his own estimate of the apostolical character of the Epistle, and to the different modes that had been suggested in which its thoughts might have been derived from the apostle, he says that it is not without reason, that the ancient men had regarded it as St Paul's. But about the writer of it he professes entire ig-

* Ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. VI. c. 25.

norance. No tradition which he thought worth notice had reached him that the writer was St Paul. According to Origen, it was reported to have been written by Clement of Rome, or Luke. To these names we may add, on the authority of Tertullian, that of Barnabas. But there is no reason to suppose that the opinion that Clement of Rome, or Luke, or Barnabas, was the writer of the Epistle, was connected with the supposition, that its thoughts were derived immediately from St Paul, which Origen mentions as his individual conjecture. The accounts to which he refers, related, without doubt, to the proper author of the work; not to the writer as distinguished from the author in conformity to the hypothesis which he had advanced. It appears, therefore, that Origen did not believe St Paul to have been the writer, that is, in any proper sense of the term, the author of the Epistle. He did not believe him to have been its author in any sense which bears upon our present inquiry. He conjectured that its thoughts were derived from him. But neglecting the account of his predecessor, Clement of Alexandria, that it was originally written by the apostle in Hebrew, he mentions no probable account which ascribed it to him. It is further evident that Origen, like Clement, perceived that there was too great a difference between the style of this Epistle as extant in Greek, and the style of St Paul, to admit of the supposition, that the apostle composed it in that language. The one father believed that he furnished the thoughts in a Hebrew original; and the other, that the writer of the Epistle gathered them from his oral discourses.

There is still another fact which we learn from Origen. It is, that the Epistle was not generally received as a canonical book by the *Greek* churches at the time when he wrote, about the middle of the third century. This evidently appears from the whole turn of expression in the sentence; '*If any church receive this as an epistle of St Paul*, it is to be approved for doing so.' Origen himself, however, thought highly of the Epistle; he regarded it as in some sort proceeding from St Paul, and he repeatedly in his writings quotes it under his name. For more than a century after his death, Origen's authority was deservedly higher than that of any other christian writer. 'Next after the apostles,' says Jerome, 'he was the instructor of the churches.' His authority, therefore, and that of Clement of Alexandria, were probably among the

principal means of giving it credit among the Greek churches. It seems to have been pretty generally received by them as a work of St Paul, during the first half of the fourth century. By the Latin churches, it was not so received till a much later period.*

Here again we might close our inquiry into the external evidence respecting the author of the Epistle. After what we have seen to be the state of the case, nothing further can be adduced which ought essentially to affect our judgment. But some curiosity may be felt to know the opinions of later writers, and we will therefore proceed.

Between Origen and the ecclesiastical historian Eusebius, who flourished during the first forty years of the fourth century, there are no facts relating to the history of the Epistle which require particular notice. † In coming down to Eusebius, we have arrived at the commencement of a period, when an essential change took place in the condition of Christians; and men acquired distinction among them, who were of a very different character from such as had been eminent before. Christianity was now supported and patronized by the despotic power of the Roman emperor. The qualities of the more eminent Christians of the first three centuries, were not only intellectual power and learning, but integrity, conscientiousness, religious zeal, strong faith, and readiness to

* In Origen's Letter to Julius Africanus, in defence of the authenticity of the story of Susannah and the elders, there is a passage relating to the Epistle to the Hebrews, which is of little importance, and which we should not notice, except that we think its meaning has been misstated, and that it is incorrectly rendered by Lardner. Its purport, as we conceive, is as follows; 'But it is probable, that some one, pressed by this argument, will bring forward the opinion of those who reject this Epistle, as not written by St Paul. In regard to such a one, we need to enter into a distinct argument, in order to show that the Epistle is Paul's. For the present, therefore, we will adduce from the Gospel, &c.' Comp. Lardner, Vol. I. pp. 518, 535, 538.

† According to Lardner, beside the writers abovementioned, the following are known, or have been supposed, to have noticed it, or expressed an opinion concerning it, during the third century. It was quoted as Paul's by Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, about A. D. 247. An expression apparently taken from it, was used by Theognostus, about A. D. 282. It is probable, in Lardner's opinion, that Methodius, about 292, received the epistle as St Paul's; and there is some very uncertain evidence, that it was so received by Pamphilus, about 294. It was not received as canonical by Cyprian, nor by Novatus, otherwise called Novatian. See Lardner, Vol. III. pp. 329, 330, and consult the references there given to the preceding volumes. It is not improbable, likewise, that before the close of the third century, it was translated into Syriac. But this circumstance affords no ground for any conclusion in regard to the opinions concerning its author, entertained by those Christians who used this version.

sacrifice themselves in the cause of truth and duty. To be eminent then, was to be a more conspicuous mark for persecution. But in consequence of the great revolution which took place when Constantine professed Christianity, individuals of that class were superseded by those of another. They were followed by men striving for influence at court; ambitious of honors in the church and the state, and ready to practise the vulgar arts of rising in the world. Some of them were the leaders of parties, who contended for distinction and power, to be obtained through the number of their followers and the triumph of their doctrines. The eminent of former times had been martyrs and confessors, the successors of the apostles. Of the distinguished of later times, many were courtiers, and intriguers; individuals under whose show of religious zeal were to be found the common vices and passions of the world; men whose predecessors and followers have existed in every age. The distinction just pointed out is important to be attended to in the study of ecclesiastical history, and the topics connected with it. The race of the ancient fathers expired, perhaps, in Lactantius, certainly not in Eusebius; for he was not of their class.

He quotes the Epistle to the Hebrews as the work of Paul, and affirms it to have been written by him. 'Of Paul,' he says, 'there are fourteen epistles manifestly and certainly his.' Eusebius, however, proceeds; 'But yet it ought to be known, that some reject the Epistle to the Hebrews, saying that it is objected to by the Latin church as not the work of Paul.' *

In his famous account of the canonical books of the New Testament, and of other writings, not to be admitted of their number, † he mentions 'the epistles of St Paul' among the books 'universally acknowledged,' without specifying any thing particularly concerning the Epistle to the Hebrews.

In another place, he expressly reckons it among the books which were objected to. 'Clement of Alexandria,' he says, 'quotes as of authority passages from those writings which are objected to; as that which is called the Wisdom of Solomon, and the book of Jesus the son of Sirach, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Epistles of Barnabas and Clement [of Rome,] and Jude. ‡

* Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. c. 3. † Ibid. c. 25. ‡ Ibid. Lib. IV. c. 13.

Again, speaking of the epistle of Clement of Rome, he says, that 'he inserted in it many thoughts taken from the Epistle to the Hebrews, sometimes using its very words, and has thus clearly shown that it is no modern composition. Hence it has seemed probable that it should be reckoned with the other writings of the apostle. For Paul having written a homily to the Hebrews in their own language, some suppose that it was translated by the evangelist Luke, and others, by this Clement; which last seems the most likely, on account of the resemblance between the style of the epistle of Clement and that to the Hebrews.' *

We see here, as before, how uncertain and erroneous were the accounts respecting the history of the Epistle, and how little proof there could have been, that St Paul was the author. We have further evidence to show how clearly the difference between its style and that of the apostle, was recognised by those best capable of judging on the subject. And we again perceive, that in consequence of this difference, it was thought necessary, in ascribing it to him, to adopt a supposition concerning its original language, which may be proved to be incorrect.

We come next to a Latin writer, Philaster, bishop of Brescia, about A. D. 380, the author of a work, *On Heresies*.

He gives a catalogue of the books of the New Testament, in which he omits the Epistle to the Hebrews, mentioning only thirteen epistles of St Paul. A little after he says; 'Some assert that the Epistle of St Paul to the Hebrews is not his, but the work of Barnabas the apostle, or of Clement bishop of Rome. Others say of the evangelist Luke.' He then mentions another composition, ascribed to St Paul, that passed under the name of an Epistle to the Laodiceans. 'This,' he says, 'is not read in the church, though it is read by some individuals. In the church are read to the people only his thirteen epistles, and sometimes that to the Hebrews. This has been thought not to be the work of the apostle, because he has written it rhetorically, in a style adapted to be popular. And it is not read, because he says in it that Christ was *made*. Likewise, on account of what is said of repent-

* Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. c. 38.

ance, [ch. vi. 4 ; ch. x. 26,] which the Novatians make an advantage of.*

About the close of the fourth century, Augustine gives us to understand that the Epistle was not generally received by the Latin Christians, and appears himself to have been in doubt respecting its author.†

The fathers, at this period, were not scrupulous of asserting what they thought it well to have believed. Such was the character of Augustine ; and such, too, was the character of his cotemporary Jerome, the last writer whom we shall quote. He often mentions the Epistle, but the following passages are all which it is important to adduce.

In his letter to Evangelius, he says ; ‘ All the Greeks receive the Epistle to the Hebrews, and some of the Latins.’‡

In his account of St Paul, contained in his book, *Of Illustrious Men*, after mentioning the thirteen epistles of the apostle, he says ; ‘ The Epistle to the Hebrews which is in circulation, is not believed to be his, on account of the difference of the style and language ; but either the work of Barnabas, according to Tertullian, or of Luke the evangelist, according to others, or of Clement, afterwards bishop of Rome, who, they say, being associated with Paul, arranged his thoughts in a proper method, and expressed them in elegant language. Otherwise, we must suppose that Paul, because he was writing to the Hebrews, omitted his own name in the salutation, on account of the ill will towards him which existed among them ; and wrote as a Hebrew to Hebrews, in Hebrew ; that is, in his own tongue, with great fluency ; so that what was eloquently written in Hebrew, might be more eloquently rendered into Greek ; and this is perhaps the cause of the difference between this and the other epistles of Paul.’

The next passage is from a letter to Dardanus, supposed to have been written about A. D. 414. After quoting the Epistle to the Hebrews, in proof of a proposition for which he is contending, he says ; ‘ We must tell Christians, that the epistle which is inscribed to the Hebrews, is received, not only by the Eastern churches, but by the whole succession of catholic writers in the Greek language, as if it were an

* We have no copy of Philaster at hand, except one in the old *Bibliotheca Patrum*, edited by La Bigne, Paris, 1575. The passages referred to and quoted are there to be found, vol. V. p. 27. See Lardner, II. pp. 522, 523.

† Lardner, II. pp. 585—587.

‡ Opp. Tom. II. col. 571. Ed. Mart.

epistle of Paul's ; although very many think it to have been written by Barnabas or Clement. And it is of no importance whose it is, as it is the work of a catholic man, and is daily read in the churches. But if it be not the custom of the Latin churches to receive it among the canonical scriptures, nor that of the Greek churches, using the same liberty, to receive the Apocalypse of St John, yet we receive both, not following the custom of this age, but the authority of the ancients, who, for the most part, quote passages from both, not as they sometimes do from apocryphal writings, (in the same manner as they occasionally adduce even heathen authors,) but as if they were canonical and catholic.*

It would be useless to proceed to a later period than that of Jerome. It appears, as we have seen, from examination of the historical evidence, that the proof is wholly wanting, which alone could afford satisfaction, that a composition of such size and importance as the Epistle to the Hebrews, was written by St Paul. It was not generally received as his work during the first two centuries. Evidence not known during that period could not have afterwards existed. In proceeding to later times, we find no appearance of any sufficient ground for the opinion that the Epistle should be ascribed to St Paul. The great difference between its style and that of his undisputed epistles, is admitted by the writers who advert to the point. They seem to consider it an objection, which must in some way be removed. Origen has his own conjecture concerning it ; and other fathers have adopted an hypothesis of a Hebrew original, which is not only false, but which proves their ignorance respecting the composition and history of the Epistle. But this want of evidence that St Paul was its author, is to be considered, as has been remarked, not merely under the obvious view which first presents itself, but still further, as creating a strong presumption that he was not the author.

Such is the state of the historical evidence. Let us now consider what may be inferred from an examination of the Epistle itself.

It has been objected to the supposition that St Paul is the author, that it wants his usual form of salutation, with his

* Opp. Tom. II. col. 608.

own name, and a designation of those addressed. This objection seems, however, without weight. Epistles generally were commenced with a salutation from the writer to the individual or individuals addressed, the name or designation of each being given. The practice therefore was not peculiar to St Paul; and the want of such salutation at the commencement of this composition, has no direct bearing to prove that it was not written by the apostle. It goes to prove merely that the work is not properly speaking an epistle, but a discourse or homily, which the writer originally composed with reference to the Hebrews generally, without intending to address it, as a letter, to any particular church or individuals. Afterwards, as it seems, he determined to send it from Italy to some certain community or communities of Christians. Upon this occasion, it may appear probable that he added the last four verses, and perhaps accompanied his work by a short epistle. To this separate epistle, rather than to the work itself, the words in chapter xiii. 22, may be conjectured to refer; 'I exhort you, brethren, to bear with this hortatory discourse; for I have written you but a short epistle.'

We are not disposed to insist on another objection; namely, the great number of words used by the writer to the Hebrews, which are not found in the epistles of St Paul. The vocabulary of a writer varies, not only with his topics, but with the changes that take place in his own mind and feelings, with the character and intellectual state of those for whom he writes, with their relation to himself, and their acquaintance with his modes of thinking and feeling. His manner of expressing himself will probably be very different in a letter to a familiar friend, from what it is in a composition intended to be more generally read. His very familiarity with certain words and turns of expression, may lead him to adopt others, which from their novelty may appear more forcible, or at least adapted to present his thoughts under a new aspect. We have too few writings of St Paul, to afford sufficient ground for judging of the extent of his vocabulary.

We have, however, examined the subject sufficiently to satisfy ourselves, that the peculiar words in the Epistle to the Hebrews, when it is compared with the thirteen epistles of St Paul, are considerably more numerous in proportion to its

size,* than those in any one of St Paul's epistles, excepting his private letters, when it is compared with the remaining twelve. But if we group together his two epistles to Timothy, and that to Titus, we shall find that in the three, taken collectively, the peculiar words are still more numerous than in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

These epistles were probably written at a later period of St Paul's life than any of his others; namely, after his first confinement at Rome. They were private letters, addressed to friends with whom he had long been familiar; and there is comparatively but little in common between their topics and those of his other epistles. These considerations do not apply to the Epistle to the Hebrews.

It has been further remarked, that in this Epistle, some words and modes of expression are repeatedly used by the author, and seem familiar to him, which do not occur, or occur much less frequently in St Paul's epistles. Yet if familiar to the apostle, there seems to be no reason why they should not be found in his acknowledged works. Some examples have been adduced which are striking; and the fact would deserve more attention than we shall give it, if there were not, as it seems to us, other arguments furnished by the Epistle itself, more decisive respecting its authorship. But such being the case, we will, without dwelling upon this fact, now proceed to the considerations, which seem to us of the most weight.

I. There are certain forms of expression relating to the doctrines and facts of Christianity, very familiar to St Paul, as appears from his thirteen epistles, which are not found in the Epistle to the Hebrews. *Now if these forms of expression are general in their character, not relating to, nor suggested by, any particular topics; and if no reason can be conjectured, why, upon the supposition that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written by him, they should not be found in this as well as in his other epistles,* then a probability arises, which may amount to a moral certainty, that the epistle was not written by St Paul. The conditions just laid down must be strictly regarded. If the expressions about to be adduced should not answer to them, then the reasoning is of no force; if they do, the conclusion is sustained.

1. The words *ἐν Χριστῷ*, verbally, *in Christ*, occur, in dif-

* They amount to nearly three hundred, exclusive of those found in quotations.

ferent senses, about 77 times in the epistles of St Paul. They signify sometimes 'with,' or 'by,' or 'by means of,' or 'through Christ;' and often their primary meaning is equivalent to the adjective, 'Christian.' They are found in all his epistles except that to Titus; which, in regard to the space occupied by its contents, bears to the remaining twelve the proportion of 1 to 44. They are not found in the Epistle to the Hebrews, the original matter of which, exclusive of quotations, bears to the original matter of the thirteen epistles somewhat more than the proportion of 1 to 7.

Let us then estimate the probability of their occurrence, supposing that this work was written by St Paul, and that the words answer the conditions before laid down. If they occurred only 7 times in the thirteen epistles, the chance would be equal of their occurring, or of their not occurring once, in the Epistle to the Hebrews. But if they were found 14 times in the thirteen epistles, then the probability that they would be found at least once in the Epistle to the Hebrews, would be as 3 to 1; if 21 times, as 7 to 1; if 28, as 15 to 1; if 35, as 31 to 1,* and so on. Thus occurring 77 times in St Paul's epistles, the probability that they would be found in the Epistle to the Hebrews, if this work were his, is as 2047 to 1. The same proportion represents the improbability that it is the work of the apostle, as the words in question do not occur in it.

This result is striking. But one unaccustomed to mathematical reasoning may perhaps feel more strongly the amount of the improbability, if another analogous case be stated. Let us suppose, then, an ancient Greek manuscript containing the epistles of St Paul with the Epistle to the Hebrews; and that we are required to determine whether the latter Epistle was transcribed by the same hand as the other thirteen. Let us suppose that to this end we are not permitted to examine the manuscript, but are told only, that in the transcript of the thirteen epistles, there are 77 instances of wrong spelling, arising from that confusion of different Greek letters, which is called Iotacism, and not one in the Epistle to the Hebrews; and that no reason is known or can be conjectured, why this error should not occur equally in the copy of that work, if written by the same transcriber. The confidence that any would feel from these circumstances, that the

* That is, the increasing series of improbabilities would be represented by the fractions $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{7}{8}$, $\frac{15}{16}$, $\frac{31}{32}$, &c.

Epistle was transcribed by a different hand, would be hardly distinguishable from moral certainty.

2. Again, in the epistles of St Paul, there are about 39 instances in which God is called 'The Father,' or 'Our father.' This mode of expression, which seems not so much characteristic of the style of St Paul as of Christianity itself, is found in all his epistles; but it does not occur in the Epistle to the Hebrews. This is the more remarkable, as the writer, in several passages, is led to regard Christians as standing in a filial relation to God. In one place, Chap. xii. 9, after quoting a passage from the Proverbs in which the chastisements of God are compared to those of a father, he calls God, the 'Father of Spirits,' by way of antithesis to the 'fathers of our bodies,' whom he had just before mentioned. It is the only passage in which he approaches to the language of St Paul on this subject. As, however, it is wholly unnecessary to press the argument, it may be admitted, though there seems no reason for doing so, that he *once* calls God 'Father,' in the manner familiar to St Paul. We will then only consider the probability, that this use of language would occur a second time if the Epistle were written by St Paul. If it was found but 35 times in the epistles of St Paul, it would be as 15 to 1.

The absence of this use of language from the Epistle to the Hebrews, may perhaps be accounted for by the fact, that its writer was as thoroughly imbued with Jewish feelings and conceptions, as was possible for an intelligent Christian. The title 'Father,' is but rarely applied to God in the Old Testament; not so frequently in the whole volume as in the epistles of St Paul; and usually, if not always, from being suggested by some particular occasion.

3. The words *Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός*, *Lord Jesus Christ*, connected together, with or without the personal pronoun, 'our,' or 'my,' and with a variety of arrangement, are found in every one of St Paul's epistles, and occur in the whole about 83 times; but they are not in the Epistle to the Hebrews. The probability of their occurrence in that Epistle, if it had been the work of St Paul, is nearly as 4095 to 1.

The only form of expression resembling that just mentioned, which is met with in the Epistle to the Hebrews, is *Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς*, *our Lord Jesus*, which is used once, ch. xiii. 20. But this particular form of words is no where found in the epistles of St Paul. His habit, as appears in

frequent instances, is, to use the terms *Κύριος Ἰησοῦς*, *Lord Jesus*, without interposing the pronoun between them; that is, where they stand alone, *Χριστός*, *Christ*, not being added.

4. The distinctive name of Christianity, *εὐαγγέλιον*, *good news, the gospel*, is used by St Paul in all his epistles except that to Titus. It occurs 61 times. It is not in the Epistle to the Hebrews. If it occurred only 56 times, the probability from this circumstance that the epistle was not written by St Paul, would be as 255 to 1.

5. The title '*apostle*,' as descriptive of an apostle of Christ, is used by St Paul 34 times, being in all his epistles except that to Philemon. It is not thus used by the writer to the Hebrews, who on the contrary once applies this title to Christ himself, ch. iii. 1. which is never done by St Paul. The improbability that he was the same person with St Paul is, in consequence, about as 31 to 1.

But it is unnecessary to proceed further in producing examples. Other words might easily be added. For instance, the word *ἐκκλησία*, *assembly, church*, used to denote the whole body, or a particular community of Christians, is of very frequent occurrence in St Paul's longer and public epistles, but is not used by the writer to the Hebrews. The words, however, which we omit to mention, present, individually considered, less striking cases than those which have been adduced. But those adduced are abundantly sufficient for the purpose. From those alone it appears, that the improbability that St Paul was the author of the Epistle, is about equal to the ratio of a million of millions to unity.*

II. We will now consider the general difference of style between the Epistle to the Hebrews and the epistles of St Paul. In what does this difference consist?

We answer, that the style of St Paul is that of one orally discoursing with much earnestness, in a language of which he is far from being completely master; and discoursing to those who, from their familiarity with his topics, his character, his trains of thought, manner of feeling, and use of language, will understand him, even if he express himself imperfectly. His style is harsh, abrupt, rapid, unequal, digressive, energetic. He seizes upon those expressions which will forcibly

* This result is obtained by taking the product of the preceding improbabilities, thus:

$$2047 \times 15 \times 4095 \times 255 \times 31 = 993\,950\,787\,375.$$

convey his feelings without much regard to their literal or exact meaning. His style is sometimes so elliptical, that his words are little more than stepping stones, enabling us with due care to follow the path which his thoughts have pursued. Or they may better, perhaps, be compared to those hints and half sentences, by which two persons engaged in the same design may comprehend each other's meaning, though they are unintelligible to a bystander. At other times, his language is redundant. A thought is dwelt upon and repeated, even with very little change of the aspect under which it is presented. In some cases, this appears to be done for the purpose of enforcing it by mere repetition ; and in other cases, the apostle seems to have been dissatisfied with the manner in which it was first expressed, and to have endeavoured to present it with more clearness or strength. His style is full of Hebraisms ; and has scarcely any thing of that general character in the construction of sentences, which belongs to composition in classic Greek. The rules of rhetoric are constantly violated, and even those of grammar not always observed. Figurative language abounds in the writings of St Paul ; but in his use of it, he is singularly negligent of rhetorical correctness. In the same connexion he repeats the same metaphorical word in very different senses. He blends together topics of comparison inconsistent with each other. He intermixes literal and metaphorical conceptions. His figures, generally, are broken, and, considered with reference to the use of language, incongruous.

Above all, it is characteristic of St Paul's mode of writing, to present himself individually to the reader. No writer has left upon his works a deeper impression of his personal character. The intense earnestness, the ardent affections, the unconquerable resolution of the apostle, his disinterested, vigilant, and anxious zeal in the cause of truth and goodness, his entire selfdevotion, and his sense sometimes of the deeprooted prejudices, and sometimes of the mean motives and unworthiness of those by whom he was opposed and thwarted, all appear in his writings. No one who understands them can doubt that the feelings expressed are real, that what the writer says, he believes, that what he appears, he is. They present the workings of his mind with a force and distinctness, which seem to belong rather to eloquence poured unrestrained from the lips, than to the comparative coldness

of artificial, written composition; rather to the living voice, than to the dead letter of a book.

But all these characteristics are wanting in the Epistle to the Hebrews. It discovers nothing peculiar in the moral qualities of the writer. For whatever is shown of them, it might have been written by any sincere Christian of the times, excepting one whose strong character, like that of St Paul, would certainly manifest itself in his writings. On this ground alone, we cannot object to any individual, except the apostle himself, to whom it has been assigned. It might have been written, as far as we have any means of judging of their moral characteristics, either by Barnabas, or Luke, or Clement of Rome, or Apollos, or Silas; but not by St Paul. It is composed by a person acquainted with composition as an art; practising upon its rules, and of a somewhat rhetorical taste. It is difficult to be understood, at the present day, partly because it requires much study to acquaint ourselves with the modes of conception familiar to the writer, and partly because, in aiming at an elegant and learned style, he, as many other writers have done, sometimes employs unusual, and consequently obscure terms, when his meaning, as far as appears, might have been expressed with propriety and clearness in more common language.* Its sentences are well constructed after the idiom of the Greek language. Its style is neither elliptical, nor negligently redundant. There are comparatively but few Hebraisms; for we must not reckon as such the modes of expression, necessary to convey the peculiar conceptions connected with Christianity, which, of course, were unknown in the Greek of profane writers. The Epistle does not abound in figures; and those which occur have the air of being carefully labored. They present, in general, no violation of the rules for their construction. The author, throughout, shows a command of equable and flowing language. He is never negligent, and never trusts himself to the strong unpremeditated expressions of natural feeling. He is evidently ambitious of writing in a somewhat elaborate, eloquent, and ornate style.

In general, these characteristics, after having been pointed

* As for instance, in the words *πολυμεῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως* in the first verse of the Epistle, neither of which, probably, were ever elsewhere connected with *λαλεῖν*; in the use of *αἰών* immediately after, in a manner which has given occasion, we think, to great misunderstanding of the meaning of the writer; and in the epithet *ψευδοφάρμακον* in a passage to be quoted, as applied to *ἔργα*. Many more examples might easily be quoted.

out, must be left to be observed by each reader for himself. Most of them do not admit of being much illustrated by the citation of single passages. It may be worth while, however, to adduce a few, to show the regard paid, by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, to preserving the consistency of his figures, and to adapting his words to each other, so as to accommodate all the expressions of a long passage to the leading thought.

Heb. vi. 4—8. 'For it is impossible to excite again to a new reformation those who have been once enlightened, and have tasted the heavenly gift, and have partaken of the holy spirit, and have tasted the good doctrine of God, and the miracles of the age to come; and have fallen away; crucifying anew with their own hands the Son of God, and exposing him to public insult. For the earth that drinks in the rain that comes often upon it, and yields produce useful to those by whom it is tilled, receives a blessing from God; but that which bears thorns and briars is rejected, and near to being accursed, and will at last be burnt.'

In the final clause, the writer refers to the ancient practice of burning sterile lands, which is mentioned by Virgil.* The whole passage is in a style quite different from any thing in St Paul's writings; and the same is the case with those which follow.

In the eleventh chapter, the writer gives a striking view of those, who, in ancient times, had been animated by the principle of faith. He then, in the beginning of the twelfth, represents them as interested in Christians, and looking down upon their course. The expression '*cloud* of spectators,' is borrowed from the language of poetry.

'Wherefore, let us also, being surrounded by such a cloud of spectators, lay aside every weight and whatever sin is likely to entangle us, and run steadily the course marked out for us; fixing our eyes on Jesus, the author and perfecter of the faith, who, for the joy proposed to him, endured the cross, despising the ignominy, and is now seated at the right hand of the throne of God.'

Again, in the twelfth chapter, verses 18—25, where the writer compares the assembly of Christians as a part of the

* Sæpe etiam steriles incendere profuit agros,
Atque levem stipulam crepitantibus urere flammis.

Georg. I. 84. 85.

great community of the blessed, on the confines of heaven, from which they received their law, to the assembly of the Jews round Mount Sinai.

‘For you have not come to a palpable mountain, and blazing fire, and clouds, and darkness, and tempests, and the resounding of a trumpet, and an articulate voice, which those who heard entreated should no longer be addressed to them;—for they could not bear the command that even if a beast should touch the mountain, it should be stoned—and so terrible was the sight, that Moses said, I am full of fear and trembling;—but ye have come to Mount Sion, and to the city of the blessed God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to myriads of angels, the solemn convocation and assembly of the first-born enrolled in heaven, and to God who rules over all, and to the spirits of good men, made perfect, and to Jesus, the mediator of the new covenant, and to a sprinkling with that blood which speaks something better than the blood of Abel.’

Christ and Abel were both cruelly murdered; but the blood of Abel called for vengeance, that of Christ announces mercy. The antithesis, however striking in itself, does not seem to be naturally suggested by the connexion. If this be so, it is another proof of the somewhat too rhetorical taste of the writer. Whoever aims too sedulously at elegancies and striking effects in style, will break the natural train of thought, and mar the expression of natural feeling.

Many more examples might readily be given of the same kind as those adduced. But with these let us now compare one or two from St Paul. The Epistle to the Ephesians appears to have been written with more attention to the language, than any thing else he has left us. From this, therefore, we will take our specimens. The first may be found in Ch. ii. verses 19—22. The apostle is addressing the Gentile converts.

‘So then, ye are no longer strangers and foreigners, but fellow citizens with the saints, and members of the household of God; being built on the foundation of the apostles and teachers, Jesus Christ himself being the corner stone; through whom the whole building, fitly put together, is growing up to be a holy temple of the Lord; through whom ye also have been built up in common, to form a spiritual dwelling place of God.’

Here the Gentile converts are represented as fellow citizens of the saints, and members of God's family, and, at the same time, as the materials, in part, of a building, the corner stone of which is Christ, who, in immediate connexion, is spoken of as a person.

In the fourth chapter, the apostle says that the ministers of Christ are given for the edification of the body of Christ—

'Till we all attain to one faith in the Son of God, and one knowledge of him, becoming perfect men, attaining to the full measure of the stature of Christ; so that we may be no longer little children, tossed by the waves, and blown about by every wind of teaching, through the dishonest tricks of men and their cunning in the arts of deception; but, having true love, may grow in all things to be like him who is our head, Christ, from whom the whole body, well put together and compacted by means of every necessary joint, each part working in its proportion, is adding to its growth, so as to improve itself in love.' vv. 13—16.

The question respecting the difference between the style of the writer to the Hebrews, and that of St Paul, could any doubt exist, would be settled by the decision of the Greek fathers. The cases are extremely rare, in which, on subjects of this sort, one to whom a language is not vernacular, can with any propriety oppose his judgment to that of a well informed individual, to whom it is, especially if the decision of the latter be contrary to his own prejudices. But respecting this difference, there has also been in modern times an agreement of the learned, holding opposite opinions concerning the doctrines of Christianity, which is uncommon on any subject connected with theology, that may admit of controversy.

Calvin says; 'I cannot be brought to acknowledge that Paul was the author of this epistle.'—'The method and style of teaching sufficiently prove that the writer was a different person from Paul.'—'I know what is said respecting the style, that the Epistle was translated from the Hebrew into the Greek, by Luke or some other person. But it requires no labor to show that this conjecture is false.' *

'Many,' says Grotius, 'in later times, have ascribed this epistle to Paul. But that opinion is very easily refuted; because the epistles of Paul are allied to each other by like characteristics and modes of speaking; but this clearly dif-

* In Epist. ad Hebræos. Argument. Opp. VII. 516.

fers from them, being more select in the choice of Greek words, in a more flowing style, and not broken and difficult with short elliptical turns of expression. In addition, some modes of speech, which are familiar to Paul, nowhere appear in this epistle, but on the contrary we find others not used by him.*

Le Clerc, in his *Ecclesiastical History* of the two first Centuries, argues against the supposition that St Paul was the author of this Epistle,† with the clearness and good sense which distinguish all his works. He refers to Limborch as having, in his *Prolegomena* to the Epistle, confuted the arguments brought in its support. 'It is,' says Le Clerc, 'obvious to all well acquainted with the Greek language, and conversant with the writings of Paul, that the style of this epistle is not similar to that of his epistles, but neater and more elegant.'

It would be easy to produce many more authorities, but we will add only that of Valckenaer, one of the most learned scholars of his age, particularly in the Greek language. He observes,‡ that 'difference of style has always afforded to those skilled in a language, a valid argument for distinguishing authors from each other. Paul and the writer to the Hebrews have composed indeed in the same language; they both use Greek words; and yet the dissimilarity is immense, in the coloring of their style.' After some further remarks upon this topic, he concludes that 'it is in the highest degree probable that Paul was not the author of this epistle.'

III. In the arrangement and method of his work, the writer to the Hebrews is equally unlike St Paul, as in his style of expression. In his epistles, St Paul pursues no settled plan. He passes suddenly from one subject to another, without marking their relation in his own mind, or giving assistance to the reader in following him in his transitions. Topics which accidentally present themselves, excite his thoughts and feelings, and divert his attention from what he had before in view. He digresses, he returns to his first subject, or perhaps resumes it in another part of the epistle. He repeats himself. He appears to write almost extempore, from strong feeling and a mind full of ideas on various connected topics. It is impossible to state, in a few words, the specific

* Proemium in Annotatt. in Ep[istola] ad Hebræos.

† Hist. Eccles. duorum primorum Seeculorum. Ann. LXIX.

‡ Selecta e Scholiis Valckenarii, Tom. II. p. 350.

object of any one of his longer epistles, except in the most general terms. It is difficult to give an analysis of any one of them, showing the connexion of the parts with each other. His course, compared with that of the writer to the Hebrews, is like the natural flow and windings of a river, compared with the regular line of a canal, which is bent from a straight direction only to secure some advantage before calculated. The design of the writer to the Hebrews, in the main body of his work, is to show, that answering to all which was glorious in Judaism, there was something far more glorious in Christianity. On this purpose every thing has a bearing. It is kept steadily in view. There are, properly speaking, no digressions. What have been called such, are merely exhortations, founded upon something which the writer has just been saying, or preparations for what he is about to say. The truth of these remarks will be most clearly perceived by him who has the clearest perception of the meaning of the writings under consideration ; but the characteristics, both of the method and style of the two writers, might in great part be perceived by all, if we had a tolerably intelligible and correct version of the Epistles of the New Testament, accompanied with a few explanatory dissertations and notes, giving that information which is necessary to understand them.

There are other considerations of much weight to which we have not adverted. It was our intention to finish this article in the present number of the Examiner ; but we have found it out of our power. We hope to resume and conclude it in the next number.

ART. XVII.—*History of Armenia, by Father Michael Chamich ; from B. C. 2247, to the Year of Christ 1780, or 1229 of the Armenian Era. Translated from the original Armenian, by JOHANNES AVDALL, Esq. Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, &c. To which is appended, a Continuation of the History, by the Translator, from the Year 1780, to the Present Date. Calcutta.—Bishop's College Press, 1827. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 414, 556.*

THIS book is somewhat of a curiosity. We think it probable that we have before us the only copy which has reached

our country ;* and we presume our readers may be gratified by some account of it. It is a translation from an Armenian original, by a native Armenian. It is written in good idiomatic English, with very few peculiarities of expression to indicate that it came from the hands of a foreigner. It appears, however, that the translator was assisted, no doubt pretty liberally, by two English gentlemen. The original is by Father Michael Chamich, member of a society of Armenians established at Venice, whose object seems to be the cultivation of Armenian literature. We have in the introduction, an account of the authors from whom he drew his materials ; from which it appears that the Armenians have many historical works, some of which were written as early as the fourth century of the christian era. The object of the translator, as expressed in his preface, in making an English version of the history of Chamich, was, to interest the learned of Europe in the condition of his country ; a country of Christians under the yoke of Mussulmans. The history, however, is too dull to excite much interest about the country of which it treats. It is a very dry abstract of the events which have taken place in Armenia, since the time of the universal deluge, beginning with the wanderings of Shem, Ham, and Japheth, and interspersed with superstitious stories, as credible as the legends of the Roman Catholics.

The founder of the Armenian nation, it appears from the work before us, was Haicus, great grandson of Japheth. He withdrew from the dominion of Belus, in Mesopotamia, and settled in Armenia, whither Belus pursues him at the head of an army. Haicus, hearing of his approach, advances to meet him, after addressing his followers in a short speech, much in the manner of a Grecian general, telling them that death is preferable to servitude. Belus and his guards are represented as completely cased in iron armour. Haicus, nevertheless, mortally wounds him with an arrow, and his troops take to flight. This remnant of traditionary fable is the beginning of Armenian history, the first item of our author's chronological table ; for his work has little claim to a higher title. The tabular list of wars and successions, is, however, as we said before, occasionally enlivened by a superstitious legend. A few of these stories we have extracted. The supposititious letter of king Abgar to Jesus Christ, is given as a piece of true history, with the following addition. Abgar had sent a painter with the messengers who carried his letter, 'in order that

* It was furnished by the kindness of the Rev. Mr Adam of Calcutta.

if the Blessed Saviour would not come, he might possess a portrait of him.

‘It is related that as the painter—was endeavouring to take the features of our Lord, Christ took a handkerchief, and passing it over his sacred face, miraculously impressed on it an admirable likeness of his countenance, and giving it to Ananey the courier, desired him to take it to his master as a reward for his faith.’—*Vol. I. p. 106.*

Eusebius, who gives an account of the interchange of letters between Abgar and our Saviour, lived too early for the remainder of this unedifying legend, the counterpart of the story of St Veronica. It can be traced back, we believe, to no earlier writer than Evagrius, about the end of the sixth century.

St Mesrop and St Isaac, in the year of our Lord 401, were very desirous to form an alphabet for their countrymen, ‘who till this period, were accustomed to use the characters of other nations in their writings.’

‘Having found their exertions unavailing, they sought to gain, by prayer from God, what they conceived human ingenuity, unassisted by him, unequal to supply. St Mesrop, about this time, with a few disciples, went to Mesopotamia, and thence to Samosata; and at this latter place, in time of prayer, as it is related, received from the Almighty the object of his incessant supplications. Having arisen from his knees, he at that place and moment invented all our characters in exquisite perfection, and forthwith began to translate the book of Proverbs from the Greek, as a test of the character, in which he was assisted by two of his pupils, Johan of Ekeliaz and Joseph of Palin. This invention of the Armenian letters took place in A. D. 406, in the seventeenth year of the pontificate of St Isaac, and fifteenth of the reign of Viramshapuh.’—*Ibid. pp. 237, 238.*

A Turkish army being about to invade Armenia, Isaac, the Armenian pontiff, then a prisoner at Damascus, requested permission to accompany it, with a view of mediating between the Turks and his countrymen. His request was granted, but he fell sick and died before he could join the army.

‘Before he expired, however, he wrote with his own hand a supplicatory letter to the Saracen general, praying him to spare the Armenians. He directed his deacon, that when he heard his last sigh, he should put this letter in his right hand. When Mohmat heard of the death of the holy pontiff, he sent directions that his remains should not be interred until he had seen them. “For,” said he, “if Isaac were alive, he would come to me, and since he is dead, I will go to him.” He then repaired to the place where the pontiff lay. On his arrival he approached

the body of the deceased and saluted it with words and gestures as if it were alive. The body of the pontiff then, wonderful to relate, returned the salutation, and stretching forward its right hand, offered to the astonished Saracen the letter which it held. Mohmat became exceedingly terrified at this miracle, yet took the letter and after reading its contents exclaimed, "Yes, thou man of God, thy desires shall be fulfilled."—*Vol. I.* pp. 377.

Gregorius Narekensis, a holy man who had given offence to his countrymen by endeavouring to unite the Armenian and Greek churches, was summoned before a meeting of the chiefs and clergy, to answer for his religious opinions.

'On the arrival of the messengers at the convent of Narek, Gregorius received them with kindness, and ordered a repast to be prepared of roasted pigeons. The day being Friday, the messengers were offended when the pigeons were set before them, and addressing the abbot they said, "Doctor, this day is a fast, for it is Friday." Upon which Gregorius replied, "Excuse me, brothers, for I had forgotten." Then addressing the roasted birds, he said, "Arise ye and depart, for this day is a fast." The pigeons then, wonderful to relate, expanded their wings and flew away. The messengers observing this miracle, were struck with shame, and falling at the saint's feet implored his forgiveness.—*Vol. II.* p. 94.

The absence of a philosophical spirit throughout this work, the hard and sterile character of the narrative, only relieved occasionally by such fables as the preceding, which appear like spots of rank luxuriance in a desert, throw this history far in the rear of its European cotemporaries. Some excuse for its tediousness, perhaps, may be found in the fact that it is an abstract of a larger work. If this be the fact, the translator would have shown more judgment had he selected the most interesting parts of the larger work, and rendered them into English without abridgement, instead of making the compend which he has given us. The history of a nation with whose rise, growth, and decline we are wholly unacquainted, cannot be interesting unless it be minute. We attach no associations to the men and events spoken of. A compend of Roman history may be read by us with pleasure, and so may the table of contents of a book which we have already perused; because in both cases a thousand facts are suggested with which we are already familiar. But an abstract of Armenian history is as dull as the table of contents belonging to a book, that treats of subjects about which we know nothing. But we

strongly suspect that there is no material difference between the extended history of Chamich and the abridgement. He seems to be essentially a chronicler of names and dates, and the shorter work probably differs from the longer only in containing fewer of these items.

The country, whose history we have been considering, was in former days a kingdom of considerable extent and power. Tigranes extended his sway over Syria, Phœnicia, and Media; but after his defeat by Lucullus, he was confined within the limits of Armenia Major, lying between Persia and the Euphrates. One of his successors, king Artavesdes, was taken prisoner by Mark Antony and sent to Rome in golden fetters. Trajan reduced the whole country into a Roman province. It afterwards recovered its liberty and was governed by its own kings in the reign of Constantine the Great. In 687 Armenia was subdued by the Saracens. These held it till the irruption of the Turks, or Turcomans, out of Scythia, who seized the country and gave it the name of Turcomania. This happened, according to some authorities, in the year 755, but according to others not till 884. Whilst the Turks were employed in other conquests, the Armenians took the opportunity of regaining their independence, and set up some new kings of their own. They were soon after subdued by the Tartars. In the year of our Lord 1472, a native Armenian succeeded to the throne of Persia, and made his country a province of that kingdom. But it was again partly conquered by the Turks under Selim I. in 1515, so that the western part has ever since continued subject to the Turks, and the eastern to the Persians.

The present inhabitants are Christians, of the sect of Euty-chians. They are an industrious race, engaged in manufactures, particularly the weaving of tapestry. Being much oppressed at home, they take every opportunity of leaving their wretched country, and are found in many parts of Asia and some parts of Europe, employed in commerce. As Russia is the nearest christian country, many of them resort thither, and are treated by the Czars with as much kindness as their native subjects. They intermarry very little with other nations.

ART. XVIII.—*Matins and Vespers: with Hymns and occasional Devotional Pieces.* By JOHN BOWRING. First American from the Second English Edition. Boston, Hilliard, Gray, and Co. 18mo. pp. 252.

WE are rejoiced to find this little volume placed before the religious community of this country, and recommend it to our readers as a delightful companion for their closets and hours of devotion. It is the work of one of the most ardent and indefatigable men of the times; the more valuable, in our estimation, as coming from one who is not a secluded scholar, nor a religious teacher by profession, but who is active in the busy scenes of the world, pressed by the engagements of business, foremost in the bustle of politics and the charities of philanthropy, a frequent writer in the journals of the day, and a translator of the poets of all modern languages; yet having the disposition, and finding the time to cherish and express the deepest and most spiritual sentiments of devotion by the composition of hymns and other religious poetry. When a man retires from the stirring interests of life for the sake of such an occupation, we are made to feel that his heart is in it. It is not a business, but a pleasure. It is not the task of a drudging penman, who writes for bread or fame, but the spontaneous expression of a mind that seeks to give vent to its fulness of feeling. And the example may show how possible it is, to sustain a religious interest and to have the thoughts strongly engaged in devotion, amidst the active duties of life.

Mr Bowring has been extensively known in this country by means of his *Specimens of the Russian Poets*, which we had the privilege of pointing out to the notice of the public before the work was reprinted in this country.* It was a work of rare felicity of execution, and has been followed by translations on a similar plan, from the Spanish, Batavian, Servian, and Polish poetry—not equal in interest perhaps to the first, but exhibiting the same talent of presenting in his own language the peculiarities of foreign tongues. It is rarely that a translator possesses, in equal degree, the power of transfusing the spirit of the original into the copy, and of preserving, not only the outline and the features, but the whole air and complexion. We do not speak from a comparison of the trans-

* *Christian Disciple* for 1821, p. 369.

lations with the originals. But as there are some portraits of whose fidelity we have no doubt, though we never have seen the persons who sat for them, so there is oftentimes that in the air of a translation which announces at once its faithfulness. It carries its own testimony with it. It bears the stamp of truth on its forehead.

Yet the very variety and quantity of Mr Bowring's labors, have had an unfavorable effect on their character. His original compositions frequently want that finish, that last touch of the revising pen, which is necessary to the best effect. The beautiful pieces of the volume before us, for example, have the warmth and glow of the first conception, mingled with the carelessnesses and weaknesses of rapid execution. This, however, is a literary defect, which, with many, will do nothing to injure their usefulness as aids to devotion. In this point of view they are of high interest, and we welcome their republication. They breathe throughout a spirit so true and elevated, they bring home to the feelings so exalted and delightful views of God and his government, and the power and peace of childlike trust and spiritual communion, that they cannot fail to be acceptable to those who are cherishing and exercising a pious frame of mind. There is in them, to borrow the just eulogy of the *Christian Observer*, 'a frequent display, or rather the presence without the display, of a tenderness and pathos, an elegant simplicity and devotional feeling, which win upon the heart, and sometimes touch it as with strains from unearthly worlds. There is no drama, no tale, no controversy, in these poems; they are truly "*Matins and Vespers*." They charm by their modesty and sensibility, and by a deep veneration of, and an ardent expression of gratitude towards, our Almighty Creator, Preserver and Benefactor. Many of the pictures in them of the love and compassion of God towards his creatures, are truly beautiful and affecting.'*

We cite this tribute to their merits the more readily, because it has a peculiar weight in being the sincere and hearty language of a writer, who goes on to lament, bitterly, certain doctrinal deficiencies in the book, and especially that it is not devoted to 'the worship of the holy, undivided Trinity in Unity.' We might have feared that our own partiality for the author, had led us to exaggerate to ourselves the merit of his

* *The Christian Observer* for 1823, p. 698.

works; but when we find such a writer expressing himself in such terms of praise, we are sure that the volume is full of beauty and piety; and we trust that all who love the expression and excitement of devotional sentiment, will be induced to acquaint themselves with its contents. But a stronger recommendation still may be found in a few specimens. The first we shall give is a 'Hymn to the Deity.'

'The heavenly spheres to thee, O God! attune their evening
hymn,
All-wise, all-holy, thou art praised in song of seraphim;
Unnumber'd systems, suns, and worlds, unite to worship thee,
While thy majestic greatness fills space—time—eternity.

Nature,—a temple worthy thee, that beams with light and love,
Whose flowers so sweetly bloom below, whose stars rejoice above;
Whose altars are the mountain cliffs that rise along the shore,
Whose anthems, the sublime accord of storm and ocean roar:

Her song of gratitude is sung by spring's awakening hours,
Her summer offers at thy shrine its earliest, loveliest flowers;
Her autumn brings its ripen'd fruits, in glorious luxury given,
While winter's silver heights reflect thy brightness back to
heaven!

On all thou smil'st—and what is man, before thy presence,
God?

A breath but yesterday inspired,—to-morrow but a clod:
That clod shall moulder in the vale,—till kindled, Lord, by
thee,
Its spirit to thy arms shall spring—to life,—to liberty.'

pp. 235, 236.

The next is in a different tone, and every word will find a sincere response from the hearts of all who have at times caught the brief happiness of elevated devotion.

'Happy is he who knows not solitude!
The hour when to the world he seems alone,
Is spent with God!—all cares, all passions lost
In most sublime abstraction. Then his soul,
Too joyous to be bound to earth, upsoars
And wings its glorious passage to an orb
Beyond philosophy's proud ken,—the throne
Where the Divinity sits clad in light,

And gives his spirit welcome ! he forgets
That he is wrapt in mortal clay—becomes
A presence all etherial, lifts his eye
Undazzled towards the smiles of heavenly love,
And takes his seat with angels.—
Oh ! the ineffable beatitude,
Could it but last !—But no ! too soon opprest
With the vast blessedness, and dragg'd, alas !
By mortal weakness from its height of joy,
The soul sinks down to this substantial world,
And is a clod again !' p. 247.

These extracts have been made from the second part of the volume, which consists of hymns and miscellaneous pieces of devotional poetry. The first part consists of the *Matins and Vespers*, which are arranged into a series of poems for the mornings and evenings of four weeks, corresponding to the four seasons. The author has not availed himself of this arrangement to give that variety and interest to the composition, which would have resulted from images and illustrations peculiar to the several seasons, and in which nature is inexhaustibly rich. We are a little surprised at this, in one who is evidently a lover of nature, and accustomed to view its objects and its changes with a devout reference to their Author. In this particular, and in some others, we think he has not given that scope to his mind in the choice and illustration of topics, which his materials clearly admit of ; a circumstance as clearly not owing to a want of power—as lines like the following abundantly prove.

'O Night ! how beautiful thy golden dress,
On which so many stars like gems are strew'd ;
So mild and modest in thy loveliness,
So bright, so glorious in thy solitude !
The soul soars upwards on its holy wings,
Thro' the vast ocean-paths of light sublime,
Visits a thousand yet unravell'd things,
And, if its memories look to earthly time
And earthly interests, 't is as in a dream—
For earth and earthly things but shadows seem,
While heaven is substance, and eternity.
This is thy temple, Lord ! 't is worthy thee,
And in it thou hast many a lamp suspended,
That dazzles not, but lights resplendently ;

And there thy court is—there thy court, attended
 By myriad, myriad messengers—the song
 Of countless and melodious harps is heard,
 Sweeter than rill, or stream, or vernal bird
 The dark and melancholy woods among.
 And golden worlds in that wide temple glow,
 And roll in brightness, in their orbits vast ;
 And there the future mingles with the past,
 An unbeginning, an unending *now*.—pp. 60.—61.

The following is of a different character.

‘Thou, whose high praise in heaven and earth is sung,
 Each heart pervading, tuning every tongue ;
 Thou, whom my soul devoutly would confess
 In joy’s bright hour—nor in affliction’s less ;
 Whose mercy in the sunshine and the storm
 Alike is active—whose invisible form
 Rides in the hurricane ;—thou, whose depths profound,
 And heights sublime, not earth nor heaven can sound,
 Infinite power, and goodness without bound !
 Thou unseen cause, conductor, end of all,
 We know thee not—yet God and Father call.
 We know thee not—but know and feel thou art !
 Our eye can see thee not—but, Lord ! our heart
 Is touch’d as with thy Spirit—and even now
 I feel thee—feel thee in this holy glow.
 A peace which none but thou couldst give inspires
 My bosom ; heavenly aspiration fires
 My towering thoughts. O God ! what breath but thine
 Could kindle aspirations so divine !
 Benignant condescension ! that thy ray
 Should send its brightness through a clod of clay,
 And raise to thy abode—to heaven—to thee—
 The poor, weak children of mortality !
 Thus privileged, let my spirit-rousing thought,
 Which vainly seeks to praise thee as it ought,
 Pour forth its humble strains. Eternal Lord !
 Thy majesty might crush the embryo-word
 With its gigantic presence ; but thy love
 Gives it a voice and wafts its tones above.
 Grant me, Eternal One ! thy light to cheer,
 Thy hand to guide me while I journey here ;
 Thy grace to help, thy peace my soul to fill,
 And sorrow’s storm may thunder if it will.
 I am supported by thy holy arm—
 The cloud may burst—but Oh ! it cannot harm.

I say not, 'Shield me, Father, from distress,'
But, 'Wake my heart to truth and holiness.'
I ask not that my earthly course may run
Cloudless—but, humbly, 'Let thy will be done.'
The peace the world can give not, nor destroy,
The love which is the greatest, and the joy
That's given to angels—to perceive and own,
That all thy will is light and truth alone
And bliss-producing;—these, and such as these,
Be mine;—the vain world's fleeting vanities—
Pomps, pleasures, riches, honors, glory, pride,
Idols by man's perverseness deified,
I envy not.—Do thou my steps control—
Erect devotion's temple in my soul;
And there, my God! my King; unrivall'd sway:
So let existence, like a sabbath day,
Glide softly by, and let that temple be
A shrine devoted all to truth and thee.'—pp. 13—15.

Our readers must perceive that there is beauty and piety in these extracts, and be persuaded that a volume made up of such pieces may be a delightful aid to their devotions. They will perhaps regret, as we do, the limited range of topics, and especially that subjects drawn from the scriptures, and illustrations of sentiments peculiarly christian, are not more frequently employed. But for what they find they will be grateful; and all who read, as they should read, for the cultivation and enjoyment of a devout spirit, will find much here 'to assist its exercises, to administer to its wants, and to accompany its heavenly aspirations.' This the author designed to effect, and this he has had the satisfaction to accomplish.

Notices of Recent Publications.

31. *Hymns on the Works of Nature, for the Use of Children.* By Mrs Felicia Hemans. Now first published. Boston, Hilliard, Gray, Little, and Wilkins, 1827.

WE have already expressed at some length our high opinion of Mrs Hemans' poetry; and the public voice is so well in unison with what was said on this subject in a former number of our Journal, that no further recommendations of ours can be required. Whatever this lady has written has been received among us with

peculiar interest. Her smaller pieces, especially, have been read with great delight. The maternal spirit that appears so beautifully in most of her productions, must give new attractiveness to this little book, composed, as it is, of pieces that were prepared for the use of her own children. These pieces partake of that delicacy of thought and expression, which so distinguishes her other works. They are not so much hymns, as descriptions of some of the most striking objects in nature, connected with appropriate religious reflections. Although not sufficiently plain and simple for very young children, they may be put with advantage into the hands of those who are of riper years, and have formed some acquaintance with the powers of language.

32. Sketches: by N. P. Willis. Boston, S. G. Goodrich. 1827. 8vo. pp. 96.

THOSE who have been accustomed to read and admire the occasional pieces which have adorned the public prints, for a few years, under the signature of Roy, will be glad to find them collected together, and united with others from the same hand, in the beautiful volume before us. Mr Willis, their author, has obtained a reputation with the lovers of verse, which has rarely been reached, and still more rarely deserved, by so young a man. They doubtless may be discovered to have something of youthfulness about them; there are glimpses, for instance, of Mrs Hemans and Wordsworth, which show that the writer is yet a learner, and unconsciously catching the peculiarities of his teachers; and there are some passages too shadowy and indistinct, which give music to the ear, rather than a well defined image to the mind; and some which are prosaic in their rhythm. But withal, he is a poet; one who thinks, feels, and writes for himself, with a quiet and delicate beauty, and occasional touches of deep pathos, which give most encouraging promises of future eminence.

This is not the place, nor have we room in a brief notice, for a critical examination of these poems; else we could easily point out their faults, and caution the author against the dangers to which he is exposed. Let him guard especially against the seductive influences of popularity, and not allow himself to be tempted into selfconfidence and presumption. He has yet a great deal to do. Let him aim high. Let him keep in view the *aliquid immensum infinitumque*. Then he may enjoy the satisfaction of doing something, by and by, for the poetry and the religion of his country.

33. *Secondary Lessons ; or the Improved Reader ; intended as a Sequel to the Franklin Primer.* By a Friend of Youth. Greenfield, 1827. 18mo. pp. 198.

THIS seems to us a valuable book. We do not pretend to determine between all the works on education, published in this book-making age, which are decidedly the best of all. It would be extremely difficult and arrogant to do so. But in regard to this little volume, we think that it deserves recommendation as a highly valuable auxiliary to an attentive parent or instructor, well calculated to facilitate the labor of teaching, and to engage the interest, as well as promote the progress of young children. It is compiled, in a great measure, upon a new plan, having the excellent advantage of compelling both teacher and pupil to a more active exercise of the mind, than is required in many books for reading. A main object is to teach the meaning of words ; which is done by a series of conversations between a mother and her son, in which many important terms in common use, are defined with great simplicity, perspicuity and exactness. Definitions also accompany the other lessons, which are selected with a judicious regard both to entertainment and instruction. Directions are given for right emphasis and inflection in reading. Upon the whole, the plan seems to be a good one, and it is well executed. It is designed to make intelligent and thorough readers, and to remedy the ancient evil of children toiling through book after book, and at last reading like machines, without intelligence or grace. It is the introduction and use of school books like this, which is to rid the land of automaton teachers and parrot pupils.

34. *Selfconquest ; or the Sixteenth Birthday. A Tale for Youth.* Boston, Bowles & Dearborn, 1827. 18mo. pp. 82.
35. *The Prize ; or, The Three Half Crowns.* By the Author of 'Self Conquest.' Boston, Bowles & Dearborn, 1827. 18mo. pp. 112.

THESE unpretending little volumes are particularly deserving of notice for their admirable moral tendency. We regret that among the works of the same class continually offered to those who have the care of youth, many are not unexceptionable in this respect. Some are made to inculcate doctrines, not only unsuitable for the purposes of mental and moral improvement, but utterly unintelligible to youthful minds ; while others profess merely to amuse the fancy. The former give the young reader a distaste for serious subjects, and the latter are not so useful playthings as the battledore or the hoop, because they benefit neither the intellectual nor the physical system.

The stories before us were written with a particular view to

the moral improvement of the young. The scene, in each instance, is laid in our own country, and the moral instruction is carefully interwoven with the tale, or rather is that upon which the whole conduct of the narrative turns—and this, in a manner rather to increase than diminish the interest. Such is precisely the kind of juvenile books most needed. There is an abundance of fairy tales and fictions, which excite the imagination and mislead the heart; and we are pleased to find some of the most gifted of our writers devoting their talents to so laudable a purpose, as that of guiding the young into the paths of religion, by the agency of fiction carefully written; and we cordially recommend these volumes to such as feel the importance of extending the benefits of education to the heart as well as to the intellect.

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36. *Fruit and Flowers, a Religious Story for Children.* By the Author of 'A Dialogue on Providence, Faith, and Prayer.' Boston, Cottons & Barnard, 1827. 18mo. pp. 76.

THEY who have read the *Dialogue on Providence, Faith, and Prayer*, with which the Directors of the American Unitarian Association enriched their series of tracts, will probably take up this story with expectations of pleasure and benefit. Such at least was the case with us, and we were not disappointed; we were indeed gratified. It is a successful attempt to explain to children the foundation and nature of love to God; a sentiment which it is often difficult for them to define, since its object is invisible, spiritual, and infinite. The only proper method is here adopted, by showing the resemblance between the religious and the social affections. By leading her daughter to examine the grounds of her gratitude and attachment to an absent friend, who has sent her a valuable gift, Mrs Melville convinces her that she can, and ought to love God for the same reasons; because he is good and does good; and that love to him may be shown in the same way as love to earthly friends, by doing what we think will please him. The story is chiefly thrown into the form of a dialogue, for which the author seems to us to have a singularly happy talent. Some readers may object that the conversations are too protracted, but they are sustained with so much spirit and *nature*, that we felt no disposition to complain of their length. The writer, where children are introduced, gives us their language and thoughts; and this is, or has been till of late, an uncommon excellence. The moral effect of the book must be excellent. It illustrates a subject on which confused or unpleasant ideas are often held, even after the years of childhood, and will give instruction to parents as well as to the young, by teaching them how to present the sublime truths of religion in an intelligible and interesting

manner. We believe that more caution should be used in recommending books for children than for adults. When, therefore, we place this among those which every child would be the better, if not the wiser, for reading, we express no light opinion of its merit. We wish, too, that when such writers employ themselves for the benefit of the young, their services should not be unnoticed or undervalued. A good religious story is a gift to the public, humble in appearance, but of greater value than many of the volumes which arrogate to themselves far higher importance.

37. *Selections from Scripture, designed as Lessons in Reading, for the Use of Adults ; with Lessons in Spelling.* Cambridge ; printed by Hilliard, Metcalf & Co. 1827. 12mo. pp. 132.

THE leading purpose and general character of this volume, may be best learned from the following Introductory Note.

‘The number of adults in Boston, principally foreigners, unable to read and desirous of learning, has been found to be greater than may generally be supposed. The Selections in this book are intended to give the most simple and elementary instruction in morals and religion. The learner, in using it, will at the same time be employing his new acquisition to the best purpose.

‘In printing these Lessons, it has been an object of particular attention to use a large, fair type, and to divide the words in such a manner as might most facilitate a just pronunciation.’

Though compiled and arranged for a particular class of learners, we are acquainted with no elementary book of the kind which can with better advantage be put into the hands of all. Indeed, those who have already learned to read will be pleased and profited by the selections from scripture, than which we know not any that are made with better judgment or taste. The plan of the book, too, is excellent. We have first the alphabet, then numerals and single syllables, followed by short monosyllabic Reading Lessons, at the head of which, as of all that follow them, the more difficult words that occur in each, are given in columns. Next come Lessons on the Character of God, who made all things ; is a spirit and we cannot see him ; is every where present, and knoweth all things ; is eternal, and changeth not ; ruleth over all the world ; is powerful, and to be feared ; is wise, just, and hath respect unto the lowly ; is faithful and good ; taketh care of all ; heareth prayer, and forgiveth sins, and is to be loved—is love itself. Each description is the subject of a lesson. Short Practical Lessons, relating to personal and social duties, as well as the duties we owe to God and to Jesus Christ, follow ; these are succeeded by Concluding Lessons upon

Death, the Resurrection, Judgment, the Punishment of the Wicked and the Reward of the Righteous. The book is then closed, with an appropriate Final Lesson, embracing the exhortations naturally suggested by the whole series. We hope this exhibition of its contents, will induce our readers to examine the work for themselves.

Intelligence.

The Unitarian.—Two numbers of a periodical work have been published in New York by Messrs D. Felt & C. S. Francis, under the title of 'The Unitarian; devoted to the Statement, Explanation, and Defence of Unitarian Christianity.' The plan and general objects of the work, are thus stated in the 'advertisement,' which introduces the first number.

'The work, of which the first number is now presented, will be issued at irregular intervals during the present winter. It will be printed, uniformly, on good paper, and with a new type. A titlepage will be furnished, at the end of the season, for such as may wish to preserve their numbers in a volume. The numbers will be of various sizes, according to the quantity of matter which the editor may find leisure to prepare. Subscription papers are not offered; but the work, as it shall appear, will be for sale at different shops throughout the city, with the price of each number printed on the cover. As it is intended that the numbers shall be small, not exceeding thirty or forty pages, such as the editor will himself be enabled to fill, with the occasional aid, he hopes, of a few friends, communications to the work are not solicited. Valuable extracts of important works may sometimes be given in the place of original matter. If the sale should be such as to defray the expenses of publication, and its reception should be sufficiently encouraging, it will be resumed the next winter.

'The design of this work is, to state in as plain and popular a manner as may be, the principles of Unitarianism; by which is meant Christianity, as understood and interpreted by Unitarians. It is maintained by Unitarians, that the religion of Jesus, rightly understood, contains none of the dogmas comprehended under the general term of Orthodoxy. It will accordingly be one main object in conducting this little work, to make it appear, by various statements, discussions, and criticisms, that those dogmas do not exist in the gospels, but are human inventions, and melancholy corruptions of the simple and rational faith, which proceeded from the lips of the Saviour, and has been recorded by

his disciples. This, as a principal object, will always be kept in view. At the same time, however, the editor would have it understood, that he binds himself by no minute or particular rules, to a certain course, but leaves himself at liberty to fill the numbers, as shall be at the time most agreeable and convenient, yet in such a manner, that they shall always serve the general interests of religion and morals.'

The leading articles of the numbers before us, are written with great plainness and ability. We cordially welcome our new fellow laborer in the vineyard of truth, and are confident that we shall find in him a valuable coadjutor.

Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance.—The following is the official account of the late meeting of this Society. The Annual Report, of which an abstract is here given, has been published.

'A public meeting of this Society was held at Julien Hall, on Monday evening, November 5, at seven o'clock. Beside the members of the Society, this meeting was attended by a large number of other citizens friendly to its objects.

'The meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. Mr Palfrey ; after which the Annual Report of the Society was read. The principal object of this Report was, to present a sketch of the principles and policy which should govern the friends of temperance in the measures they may adopt for the promotion of their purposes.

'After noticing a variety of circumstances, which indicate a favorable change in the public sentiment with regard to the use of ardent spirits, the Report went on to consider the influence which the habit of moderate drinking has in producing immoderate drinking ; and it was urged that the only sure way of preventing the one, was to relinquish the other. The abolition of the practice of moderate drinking during labor, under exposure, &c. must be brought about, by convincing mankind not only that it is useless, but injurious ; and it was particularly urged that the most effectual method of doing this, was, by impressing early on the minds of the young the important truth, that the use of ardent spirits is always both useless and injurious, even in the smallest quantities.

'The propriety of recommending total abstinence from the use of wine, was next considered ; and it was remarked, that although some arguments might be brought in support of its prohibition, yet that, on the whole, it was unreasonable and impolitic ; since, although in excess it may be injurious, still it holds out but little comparative temptation to excess, and by the introduction of some of its milder kinds, it may be made an important instrument in promoting the suppression of intemperance.

‘ Some account was next given, of the effects which have attended the application of the various medicines which have been prepared for the cure of intemperance, of the degree of efficacy which is to be expected from their use, of the manner in which they should be managed when administered, and of the various means by which their favorable effects are to be supported and rendered permanent.

‘ In conclusion it was remarked, that it was important to keep a strict watch upon all those occasions where the young very often taste ardent spirits for the first time, and to remove, when practicable, the temptations which are thus thrown in their way ;—that many persons, no doubt, may date their habits of intemperance from the time when they first tasted ardent spirits on Boston Common, and acquired a relish for it ;—that many others acquire the same relish for it at the Theatre ;—that if spirits were banished from the Common and from the Theatre, many would be saved from habits of intemperance, and that there are many other occasions and places which might be made the subject of the same remark. It was particularly recommended to sea captains and ship owners, that they should endeavour to bring up the young men who enter their vessels, to labor without any use of rum.

‘ The Report was concluded by offering the following resolutions for the consideration of the meeting ; and after being advocated by Dr Z. Boylston Adams, Dr Channing, Rev. E. S. Gannett, Hon. Wm Sturgis, Dr J. B. Flint, and Rev. Wm Collier, they were passed unanimously.

‘ 1. *Resolved*, That in the opinion of this meeting there is sufficient evidence that ardent spirits are *not* necessary as a refreshment or a support to the strength during labor ; but on the contrary, are absolutely injurious to health ; that to the general *moderate* use of them is to be *chiefly* attributed the prevalent habit of intemperance ; and that entire abstinence from their use, except when prescribed as medicines, be recommended to all classes of society.

‘ 2. That it be recommended to ship owners, masters of vessels, farmers, mechanics, proprietors, and superintendents of manufacturing establishments, and all others having the care of young persons when first entering upon laborious occupations, to endeavour to induce those under their charge, to form the habit of labor without any use of ardent spirits.

‘ 3. That it be recommended to all having the charge of the education of the young, to endeavour to produce upon their minds a strong impression of the dangerous tendency of even a moderate use of ardent spirits.

‘ It was then voted, that the Report and Resolutions be print-

ed for distribution; and that the proceedings of the meeting be signed by the President and Secretary of the Society and published in the newspapers.

JOHN C. WARREN, *President.*

JOHN WARE, *Secretary.*

Boston Sunday School Society.—This Society, of which we have already given some account,* held its first annual meeting for the choice of officers on the 28th of November. Rev. Joseph Tuckerman D. D. was chosen President; Mr Moses Grant, Vice President; J. F. Flagg, M. D. Corresponding Secretary; Mr F. T. Gray, Recording Secretary; and Mr B. H. Green, Treasurer.

A public meeting was held on the evening of the 12th of December in Federal Street Church. The house was well filled, and reports, relating to the condition and management of the Hancock, Howard, and Franklin, the West Church, Twelfth Congregational Church, and Cambridgeport Schools, were read by their respective superintendents, and listened to with great attention and interest. A report from Hollis Street Church School, for want of time to read it, was reluctantly omitted, and the Corresponding Secretary reported in general respecting those schools, with the superintendents of which the Society is in correspondence. Judge Simmons and Hon. Jonathan Phillips then addressed the meeting. The deep interest they felt in the institutions for whose multiplication and improvement the society was formed, was apparently communicated, by their impressive appeals, to the whole assembly; and the words of encouragement they uttered, and the strong sympathy of the occasion, we trust, will long continue to animate the exertions of the teachers in the good cause in which they are so laudably, and at the expense of so many sacrifices, engaged. We congratulate the Society upon its success and prosperity thus far. By a judicious application of the fund of information and experience it cannot fail to accumulate, it will in time do much for the advancement of pure religion and of human happiness. But the results of its labors will fail of much of the good they might effect, if not given to the public at large, and we hope the reports abovementioned will all be published.

Dedication and Installation at Saco, Me.—In Saco, Me. a new church was on Wednesday, the 28th of November, dedicated to the worship of the One God, and Rev. Thomas Tracy installed as the pastor of the society for whose use it was erected. Rev. Mr Wells, of Kennebunk, Me. offered an introductory prayer and read a selection from the scriptures. The prayer of installation and dedication was offered by Dr Nichols, of Portland, Me.

* See page 277 of our present volume.

and the sermon delivered by Rev. F. W. P. Greenwood, of Boston, from Acts, xvii. 19. 'May we know what this new doctrine whereof thou speakest, is?' Rev. Dr Parker, of Portsmouth, N. H. gave the charge; Rev. Mr Walker, of Charlestown, the right hand of fellowship; Dr Nichols addressed the society, and Mr Walker offered the concluding prayer. Mr Greenwood's sermon has been published under the title of 'The Peculiar Features of Christianity.'

Dedication at Lechmere Point.—A new church, erected at Lechmere Point for the use of the Third Congregational Society in Cambridge, was dedicated to the worship of Almighty God, on Tuesday, December 25th. The services were as follows;—introductory prayer, by Rev. H. Ware, Jr, reading of scriptures, by Rev. Mr Barrett, dedicatory prayer, by Rev. Mr Parkman, sermon, by Rev. Dr Lowell, of Boston;—concluding prayer by Rev. Mr Walker, of Charlestown. Dr Lowell's sermon was from Acts, xi. 26. 'The disciples were called Christians first in Antioch.'

Ordination at Stoughton.—On Wednesday, Nov. 21st, Rev. William L. Stearns was ordained pastor of the First Church and Society in Stoughton. The introductory prayer was by Rev. Mr Storer, of Walpole. A sermon 'on the nature and extent of christian liberty,' was delivered by Rev. Mr White, of Dedham, from Galatians, v. 1. 'Stand fast, therefore, in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage.' Rev. Dr Harris, of Dorchester, offered the ordaining prayer, and Rev. Dr Ripley, of Concord, gave the charge, Rev. Mr Gannett, of Boston, the right hand of fellowship, and Rev. Mr Huntoon, of Canton, offered the concluding prayer.

Edition of the New Testament.—A gentleman perfectly qualified for the task, is engaged in publishing 'The New Testament in the Common Version conformed to Griesbach's Standard Greek Text.' The Epistle to the Romans and the two Epistles to the Corinthians are already before the public, as specimens of the work. It is 'an attempt,' says the editor, 'to afford to the English reader the benefit of Professor Griesbach's restorations of the sacred text. The labors of that eminent critic are well known to have obtained the nearly unanimous approbation of learned men of all denominations. The Common Version is here reprinted, with no other alterations, either of words or of punctuation, than the amended text requires.' Any judicious attempt to present the records of our religion to common readers in a more perfect state than they can now obtain them, must meet the approbation of all enlightened men. We hope this will be so favorably received as to encourage the gentleman referred to, to complete his design.

Massachusetts Evangelical Missionary Society.—This institution has, from October 1st, 1826, to January 1st, 1828, received the following donations:

1826.	Cash of Rev. Dr Edes' Society, Providence, R. I. to constitute him a life member.	\$15
	Contribution at Semi-annual Meeting in Salem	130
Dec.	From Domestic Miss. Soc. in Rev. N. Parker's Society, Portsmouth, N. H.	55
1827.		
Jan.	From Evang. Treasury of the Second Church in Boston, Rev. H. Ware, Jr.	50
Feb.	From Society for Benevolent Purposes, in Twelfth Cong. Church, Rev. Mr Barrett	50
March.	Society of Rev. Mr Peabody, Springfield	22
	Cash by Rev. Mr Shaw, of Eastham, from a friend to the Evang. Miss. Society	5
April.	From Society of the Rev. Mr White, Dedham	9 60
May.	Cash from Twelfth Cong. Church, Boston, to constitute Rev. Mr Barrett a life member	15
	Cash from the Female Benevolent Library Association, Marlborough	6
	Anniversary Contribution, Boston	59 67
June.	Cash, Rev. Mr Ripley's Society, Concord	5
	Cash, Female Benev. Society, Princeton	15
	Female Auxiliary Evang. Miss. Society, Salem, Rev. Dr Prince and Mr Upham	35
	Female Association in Rev. Mr Brazer's Society, by Hon. L. Saltonstall	43
Aug.	Society worshipping in King's Chapel, Boston	50
Sept.	New South Society, Rev Mr Young	82
	Female Cent Society, in Rev. Dr Bancroft's Society, Worcester	41 39
Nov.	Semi-annual contribution by Rev. Dr. Tuckerman, who officiated at Worcester	73
	Ladies of the East Church Society, Salem, to constitute Rev. Dr Flint a life member	30
Dec.	Ladies of the Society of the South Parish in Portsmouth for the Encouragement of Domestic Missions	50
	From Evang. Treasury of the Second Church in Boston, Rev. H. Ware, Jr.	50
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		\$881 66

The object of this Society, as is well known, is to afford assistance to such parishes as are unable to support the gospel ministry from their own resources. As must be obvious from the above list of donations, which make a large proportion of its whole disposable income for more than a year, the aid it can give, in single instances, is but small, when the great number of calls constantly made upon its treasury is considered. We doubt however, whether there are many channels into which the benevolent can turn their charities with a better prospect of effecting good.

Mr Adam of Culcutta.—This gentleman has resumed his missionary labors in India.

Obituary.

DIED in Philadelphia, October 16th, Mrs Susan Sturgis, wife of Nathaniel R. Sturgis, of this city, and daughter of the late Samuel Parkman, Esq. The character of this deeply lamented lady, combining in such rare union the firm with the gentle attributes of christian excellence, and adding to both the graces of a delicate and polished mind, will, by all who had opportunity to estimate it, be long affectionately remembered among those which have beautifully illustrated to them the power of christian faith. It was a happiness and a privilege, worthy of grateful acknowledgment, to witness the unostentatious, but uniform and consistent sense which her life expressed, of the various obligations of a disciple of Jesus; the testimony which it bore to the claims of piety; her exemplary walk in the sphere of social relations; her conscientious use of prosperity, and, in sorrow, her sustained trust, and peace, such as the world giveth not;—in short, the diligent devotion of her days to duty, and the filial submission of her will to God. Such a memory is blessed, not less in the purifying influence which it exerts, than in the consolations which so richly it communicates.

LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.—A Discourse, preached at the Dedication of the Bethlehem Church, in Augusta, Maine, October 18, 1827. By Alvan Lamson, Minister of the First Church in Dedham, Mass. Augusta; Eaton & Severage. 1827. 12mo. pp. 32.

The Exclusive System. A Discourse delivered in Groton, Mss. at the Installation of Rev. Charles Robinson, Nov. 1, 1826. By James Walker. Boston. Bowles & Dearborn. 1827.

The Christian Spirit. A Sermon, preached at the Ordination of Mr G. W. Wells, as one of the Ministers of the First Parish in Kennebunk. By Charles Lowell, Minister of the West Church in Boston. Cambridge. Hiliard, Metcalf & Co. 1827.

✠ In the account of this ordination given in our last number, we should have stated that Mr Fletcher gave the charge, and Dr Nichols made the address.

The Works of Joseph Butler, LL. D. late Lord Bishop of Durham. To which is prefixed a Life of the Author, by Dr Kippes; with a Preface, giving some Account of his Character and Writings, by Samuel Halifax, D. D., late Lord Bishop of Gloucester.

Annals of Salem from its First Settlement. By Joseph B. Felt. Salem. W. & S. B. Ives.

Poems; by Richard H. Dana. Boston. Bowles & Dearborn.

The Doctrine of Pronouns applied to Christ's Testimony of Himself. By Noah Worcester, D. D. Boston. Bowles & Dearborn. 12mo.

A Delineation of the Characteristic Features of a Revival of Religion in Troy, in 1826 and 1827. By J. Brockway, a Citizen of Troy.

Johnson's English Dictionary, as Improved by Todd and Abridged by Chalmers, with Walker's Pronouncing Dictionary combined. By J. E. Worcester. Boston. Charles Ewer.

History of the Town of Hingham, Plymouth County, Massachusetts. By Solomon Lincoln, Jr. Hingham. Caleb Gill, Jr. 1827.

The Bible the Christian's Text Book; and the Theory of the Original Sin examined. Two Sermons preached at Chelsea, on Lord's Day, Oct. 21, 1827. By Andrew Bigelow. Boston. Bowles & Dearborn.

PALEY'S SERMONS.

July - Aug 1827

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Two octavo volumes of Sermons by Archdeacon Paley, which are not printed in the collection of his works, have lately been published in England, by the Rev. Edmund Paley, Vicar of Easingwold. They have never been reprinted in this country, and, as they fully sustain the author's high reputation as a writer, it is proposed to publish the whole in one octavo volume of about 500 pages.

It will be printed in the same style with the North American Review, on paper as good, with a new type of the same fount, and sold, after publishment, at *three dollars* per copy. The price of the English copy is *five dollars*.

With this prospectus is given a page of the first sermon, printed with the same type, and on a page of the same size with that of the proposed edition.

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OUR Lord, two verses preceding these, states the momentous truth, that 'God had sent his Son into the world, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have everlasting life.' But in the works, no less than in the words of God, the intention is not always the same with the effect, but often of a nature entirely contrary. Who can doubt but that the intention of our Maker, in giving us the faculty of speech, was mutual utility and pleasure? Yet the faculty of speech often produces the very reverse of these, mutual annoyance and offence. Our joints and limbs were formed, without question, with a design of being instrumental to action and motion; yet the effect not seldom is, that they are the seats of pain and disease. It fares in like manner with the christian dispensation. Its intention was to redeem souls, to save them from sin, from the devil, and from death; to turn us from our sins; to lead us into the ways of life, and to conduct us in the paths of righteousness, which is the path to heaven and to God. This was its intention, but far different its effects; its effects, in many instances, are altogether opposite; they are not unfrequently such as to increase the condemnation and punishment. 'He that despised Moses' law died without mercy; of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing, and hath done despite unto the spirit of grace?' It has been noticed, that this is no more than what happens in the gifts of nature; they are all intended for use, capable of abuse; calculated for good, convertible to evil; designed and suited for our benefit, turned by ourselves to our prejudice, perhaps to our destruction. What is generally true of the endowments which we receive from the hands of our Creator, may be expected to be true of spiritual things, of the works and operations of grace, distinguished indeed from the course of nature, but proceeding from the same cause; and more particularly true of those things which were meant and intended to be, not only benefits but trials. Religion is a trial of character. The world we live in is a place, the life we live is a state, of trial and probation. Christianity itself is a part of this system. It is a trial to all, to whom it is proposed; infinitely to their advantage, if accepted; at their utmost peril, if put away and rejected. 'Ye put it from you,' says St Paul, 'and judge yourselves unworthy of eternal life.' Therefore we are not to wonder as though it were any thing strange, that the intention of the Gospel is different from its effects. It is, in a certain degree, the case with

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CONTENTS.

MISCELLANY.	
Review of the Progress of Religious Opinions,	1
POETRY.	
The Living and the Dead,	25
On Reading the Life of Quincy, by his Son,	27
REVIEW.	
ART. I.—The Martyr; a Drama, by JOANNA BAILLIE,	28
ART. II.—1. A Summary of the Theological Controversies which of late years have agitated the City of Geneva.—2. Causes, which check the Progress of Theological Science among Protestants.—3. On the Establishment of Conventicles in the Canton of Vaud,	37
A. T. III.—A Discourse preached at the Dedication of the Second Unitarian Church, New York, December 7, 1826, by WM. E. CHANNING,	61
ART. IV.—Mason's Address on Church Music. Continued, . . .	67
NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.	
Fitch on the Nature of Sin, . . .	77
Greenwood on the Lord's Supper, .	79
Upham's Dedication Sermon, . . .	82
Thrush on the Unlawfulness of War, .	83
Thrush to Editors and Reviewers, .	83
The Christian Visitant,	86
INTELLIGENCE.	
Unitarian Chapels in England, Wales, and Scotland, 87—Summary of Unitarian Chapels, 92—Institutions in England under Unitarian Control, 93—Unitarianism in Pennsylvania, 94—Peace Society, 95—Spirit of Orthodoxy, 96—Calcutta Pamphlets, 96.	

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NO. XX.

THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER
AND
THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

VOL. IV.]

March and April.

[NO. II.

CONTENTS.

MISCELLANY.

- Review of the Progress of Religious Opinions, 97
On a Regular Attendance at Church, 110

POETRY.

- Man giveth up the Ghost, and where is he, 121
Washington's Statue, 123
He walked with God, ib.

REVIEW.

- ART. V.—The Rights of the Congregational Churches of Massachusetts The Result of Council at Groton, 124
ART. VI.—Robert Robinson's Village Sermons, 154

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

- Miss Bowdler's Poems and Essays, 177
Fuller's Address before the Massachusetts Peace Society, ib.
Hymns for Social and Private Worship, 179
Books for Children, 180
Colman's Catechism for Children, 181
Emerson's Address before the Boston Mechanics' Institution, . . . 182

INTELLIGENCE.

- The Christian Denomination, 183—
Theological School at Cambridge, 192
—The Miltonian, 196—Manchester College, ib.—Unitarian Mission at Calcutta, 197—Unitarianism in India, ib.—Ordinations, 200.

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AND

THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

VOL. IV.]

May and June.

[NO. III.

CONTENTS.

MISCELLANY.

On Slavery in the United States, 201

POETRY.

The Resolution of Ruth, . . . 227

The Everlasting Friend, . . . 229

REVIEW.

ART. VII.—Discourses on Various Subjects and Occasions, by Robert South, D. D. Selected from the complete English Edition. With a Sketch of his Life and Character, . . . 230

ART. VIII.—Pamphlets relating to the Oneida and Troy Revivals, 242

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

The Christian Guide, . . . 265

The History of Dedham, . . . 267

Lamson's Ordination Sermon, . . 268

Hymns for Children, . . . 270

Abbot's Convention Sermon, . . ib.

The Young Child's Prayer Book, 272

INTELLIGENCE.

American Unitarian Association, 273—

Evangelical Missionary Society, 275

—Berry Street Conference, ib.—Mas-

sachusetts Convention of Ministers,

276—The Massachusetts Society for

the Suppression of Intemperance, 277

—Boston Sunday School Society, ib.

—The Liberal Preacher, 278—Obitu-

ary, ib.—Dedications and Ordina-

tions, 279—To Readers and Corres-

pondents, 280.

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THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER
AND
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VOL. IV.]

July and August.

[NO. IV.]

CONTENTS.

MISCELLANY.

- On Devotion at Church, - - - 281
Reasons for Sympathy and Cooperation with the Unitarians of England, - - - - - 291

POETRY.

- 'Looking unto Jesus,' - - - - 299

REVIEW.

- ART. IX.—Mason's Address on Church Music, - - - - 300
ART. X.—An Amended Version of the Book of Job, with an Introduction, and Notes chiefly Explanatory. By George R. Noyes, 309
ART. XI.—1. Burder on Mental Discipline.—2. Miller's Letters on Clerical Manners and Habits, - - - - - 324
ART. XII.—An Elementary Course of Biblical Theology, translated from the Work of Professors

- Storr and Flatt, with Additions. By S. S. Schmucker, A. M. &c. 334

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

- Motte on Simplicity in the Christian Faith, - - - - - 348
Whitman on Denying the Lord Jesus, - - - - - 350
Unitarian Controversy at Charleston, S. C. - - - - - 353
Poems; by the Author of 'Moral Pieces in Prose and Verse.' - - 354
Dewey on the Use of the Epistles, 356

INTELLIGENCE.

- Dr Beecher and Mr Beman's Convention on Revivals of Religion, 357—
Theological School in Cambridge, 370
—Young Men's Unitarian Book and Pamphlet Society, 372—Unitarian Dissenters' Marriage Bill, ib.—British and Foreign Unitarian Association, 373—Second Unitarian Church in New York, 374—Obituary, 375.

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NOTICE.

THOSE of our subscribers who are in our debt, are reminded that their subscription for 1827 became due on the first of last May. They are respectfully requested to transmit the amount to the proper Agents, that the Editor may be enabled to avoid embarrassment in conducting the pecuniary concerns of the work. With those indebted for two, three, and four volumes, he may be permitted to be urgent for a settlement of accounts.

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PRINTING in all its varieties will be executed at this Press, for the character of which the Editor of the Examiner holds himself responsible.

Orders may be addressed either directly to the Editor of the Christian Examiner, or to the Printer, STEPHEN FOSTER, Boston.

Office in Harvard Place, opposite the Old South Church, Boston.

PALEY'S SERMONS.—In the Prospectus of these Sermons given with the present number of the Examiner, it was inadvertently omitted to say, that subscription papers may be returned to the Editor, FRANCIS JENKS, BOSTON.

Milton's Prose.

For sale by Bowles & Dearborn, 72, Washington Street, Boston, A SELECTION FROM THE ENGLISH PROSE WORKS OF JOHN MILTON. With a Preface by FRANCIS JENKS. 2 Vols. 12mo.

For a notice of this work see the North American Review, for July, 1827.

Extract from the Edinburgh Review, No. 84.

'It is to be regretted that the prose writings of Milton should, in our time, be so little read. As compositions, they deserve the attention of every man, who wishes to become acquainted with the full power of the English language. They abound with passages, compared with which, the finest declamations of Burke sink into insignificance. They are a perfect field of cloth of gold. The style is stiff with gorgeous embroidery. Not even in the earlier books of Paradise Lost, has he ever risen higher than in those parts of his controversial works, in which his feelings, excited by conflict, find a vent in bursts of devotional and lyric rapture.'

Extract from Rev. Dr Channing's 'Remarks.'

'We close our brief remarks on [Milton's] prose writings, with recommending them to all who can enjoy great beauties in the neighbourhood of faults, and who would learn the compass, energy, and richness of our language; and still more do we recommend them to those, who desire to nourish in their breasts magnanimity of sentiment and an unquenchable love of freedom. They bear the impress of that seal, by which genius distinguishes its productions from learning and taste. The great decisive test of genius is that it calls forth power in the souls of others. It not merely gives knowledge, but breathes energy. There are authors, and among these Milton holds the highest rank, in approaching whom we are conscious of an access of intellectual strength. A virtue goes out from them. * * * The works which we should chiefly study, are not those which contain the greatest fund of knowledge, but which raise us into sympathy with the intellectual energy of the author, and in which a great mind multiplies itself, as it were, in the reader. Milton's prose works are imbued as really, if not as thoroughly, as his poetry, with this quickening power, and they will richly reward those who are receptive of its influence.'

The Groton Documents.

Just published and for sale by Bowles & Dearborn, 72, Washington St, 'A Collection of Facts and Documents relating to Ecclesiastical Affairs in Groton, Mass., occasioned by the Publication of "The Result of an Ecclesiastical Council convened at Groton, Mass. July 17, 1826," and intended to correct Misstatements made, and supply material Facts suppressed by the Authors of that Result.' For an account of these Papers see the Christian Examiner for March and April, 1827.

IN THE PRESS.

BOWLES & DEARBORN will have for sale next week, 'A Letter to the Trinitarian Congregational Church in Waltham. By a Layman.'

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NO. XXIII.

THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER
AND
THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

VOL. IV.] September and October. [NO. V.

CONTENTS.

MISCELLANY.

Translation from Philo Judæus - 377

POETRY.

Twilight and Autumn - 380

To the Memory of a Friend and
Relative - 381

REVIEW.

ART. XIII.—The Life of Napoleon
Buonaparte, Emperor of the
French. With a Preliminary
View of the French Revolution.
By 'The Author of Waverley,'
&c. - 382

ART. XIV.—The Government of
God desirable. A Sermon De-
livered at Newark, N. J., Octo-
ber, 1808, during the Session of
the Synod of New York and New
Jersey. By Lyman Beecher,
A. M. - 431

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Is this Religion? Or a Page from
the Book of the World - 448
Pierpont's National Reader - 449
My Ear - 450
Groton Documents - 452
Dunallan - ib.
Worcester's Epitome of History - ib.
A Letter to the Trinitarian Congre-
gational Church in Waltham - 454

INTELLIGENCE.

Spirit of Orthodoxy, 454.—American
Unitarian Association, 457.—Dedica-
tion at Framingham, ib.—Dedication
at Stow, ib.—Dedication at Augusta,
Me. 458.—Ordination at Kennebunk,
Me. ib.—Ordination at Brookfield,
459.—Installation at South Boston,
ib.—Unitarian Chapels in England,
Wales and Scotland, ib.—Obituary,
460.—NEW PUBLICATIONS, ib.

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SERMONS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS, BY WILLIAM PALEY, D. D. originally published by the Rev. Edmund Paley, A. M. in 1825. 1 vol. 8vo. pp. 456.

This first American edition is handsomely printed on a fine paper, with a new type, and contains all given in the English edition in two volumes, 8vo. of 400 pages each.

N. B. An extra titlepage accompanies the volume for the convenience of those who possess Paley's Works in five volumes, and who may wish to bind this up with them as the sixth.

We ask the indulgence of our subscribers for a few days' delay in the publication of our present number, which we feel assured we shall not have occasion to do again.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

For sale by BOWLES & DEARBORN, 72, Washington street, A Collection of Facts and Documents relating to Ecclesiastical Affairs in Groton, Mass. occasioned by the Publication of 'The Result of an Ecclesiastical Council convened at Groton, Massachusetts, July 17, 1826,' and intended to correct Misstatements made, and supply material Facts suppressed by the Authors of the Result. Boston, Press of the Christian Examiner, 1827. Svo. pp. 44. Price 15 cts. single, \$10 per hundred.

An Essay on the Lord's Supper, by F. W. P. Greenwood.

A Discourse delivered in Hollis Street Church, Boston, September 2, 1827: occasioned by the Death of Horace Holley, LL. D. late President of Transylvania University. By John Pierpont, Minister of Hollis Street Church.

ABSTRACT OF SCRIPTURE HISTORY.

For Sunday Schools and Young Persons.

IN the Press of the Christian Examiner, and will soon be published, a stereotype edition of AN ABSTRACT OF THE HISTORY OF THE BIBLE, with Questions for Examination and a Sketch of Scripture Geography, illustrated with Maps. By WILLIAM TURNER, *Lecturer to the Literary and Philosophical Society, Newcastle upon Tyne.*—From the Seventh English Edition.

A well executed work of this kind has long been wanted, and can now be obtained at a very low price. The volume now in press, will be printed in the 18mo. form, with open lines, and on a good sized type, and consist of about 250 pages. A large proportion of the first impression is already engaged for the use of Sunday Schools in Boston and its vicinity, and orders for the work may be addressed to

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Boston, Nov. 1st, 1827.

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For a notice of this work see the North American Review, for July, 1827.

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CHRISTIAN EXAMINER
AND
THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

VOL. IV.] November and December. [NO. VI.

CONTENTS.

POETRY.

- On the Close of the Year . . . 461
The Voices of the Dead . . . 462

REVIEW.

- ART. XV.—1. Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England;—Faithfully pointing out the Things of a Bad and Dangerous Tendency in the Late and Present Religious Appearances in the Land, &c. By Charles Chauncy D. D. 2. The Christian History, containing Accounts of the Revival and Propagation of Religion in Great Britain and America. For the years 1743 and 1744. [Edited by Thomas Prince, Jun. A. B.] . . . 464
ART. XVI.—A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews. In two Volumes. By Moses Stuart, 495
ART. XVII.—History of Armenia, by Father Michael Chamich; from B. C. 2247, to the Year of Christ 1780, or 1229 of the Armenian Era. Translated from

the Original Armenian by Johannes Avdall, Esq. . . . 519

- ART. XVIII.—Matins and Vespers: with Hymns and Occasional Devotional Pieces. By John Bowring . . . 524

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

- Mrs Hemans' Hymns. . . . 529
Willis's Sketches . . . 530
Secondary Lessons . . . 531
Selfconquest . . . 531
The Prize . . . 531
Fruit and Flowers . . . 532
Selections from Scripture . . . 533

INTELLIGENCE.

- The Unitarian, 534—Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance, 535—Boston Sunday School Society, 537—Dedication and Installation at Saco, ib.—Dedication at Lechmere Point, 538—Ordination at Stoughton, ib.—Edition of the New Testament, ib.—Massachusetts Evangelical Missionary Society, 539—Mr Adam of Calcutta, ib.—Obituary, 540
—NEW PUBLICATIONS, ib.

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Notice.

THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER, for 1828, will be issued in an improved style, and, it is hoped, be so conducted and filled as to merit a better support than it has hitherto received. It will still appear in the octavo form, and no change be made in the price of subscription, or the amount of postage. The numbers, however, by an alteration in their typography, will contain about one quarter more than they do now. In particular, arrangements are making to procure a greater variety of religious, literary, and miscellaneous *intelligence*, the space for which has hitherto been rendered small by the press of other matter. The writers who are now contributors to the work, will continue to labor for it, and others have promised their services. In fine, no pains will be spared to give this journal a still higher rank among the works of the day, and to make it a more efficient instrument for the defence of the simple truth as it is in Jesus.

The changes contemplated cannot be made without a great increase of the expense of publication; but it is believed this will be more than repaid by an increased circulation, to promote which the editor relies upon the exertions of the friends of the work and of Unitarian Christianity.

FRANCIS JENKS.

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